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Lord Harley to
the Author

# MEMORIALS

AND

# LETTERS

RELATING TO THE

# HISTORY OF BRITAIN

IN THE

# REIGN

OF

# CHARLES THE FIRST.

Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes

PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINALS.

Lord Hailes

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TO

# ROBERT DUNDAS

OF

ARNISTON, ESQUIRE,

LORD PRESIDENT

OF

THE COURT OF SESSION,

IN MEMORY

OF HIS FRIENDSHIP AND PATRONAGE,

THE EDITOR

INSCRIBES THIS COLLECTION.

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# PREFACE.

WHEN I first published a collection of "Memorials and Letters relating to the reign of James I." I did not imagine that it would have proved exceedingly offensive to any reader.

The collection, however, has given very great offence; I am charged, in general, with having inhumanly exposed the follies of past times; and, in particular, with having placed King James and his courtiers in an unfavourable point of view: it is added, that I have indirectly, and by silent comparison, endeavoured to make my fellow-subjects sensible of certain supposed advantages arising from the Revolution.

With respect to the last part of the charge, I have only this short defence

to offer, that an attempt to conciliate men to the government under which they live, by a genuine repreſentation of the government under which their forefathers lived, is an attempt juſtifiable at leaſt, if not praiſe-worthy.

If King James and his courtiers have been placed in an unfavourable point of view, the fault is not mine: when I preſumed to publiſh what they wrote, I did not ſuppreſs any letters which might have done honour to their underſtanding or their morals; my readers, therefore, inſtead of cenſuring me, ought to lament the ſcantineſs of my materials.

If I have expoſed the follies of paſt times, I have done no more, as a compiler, than what the hiſtorian does who prefers truth to adulation.

That it is inhumane to expoſe the follies of former ages is a dangerous

principle. Does humanity require us to draw a veil over the deformities of paſt times, or to perſuade ourſelves, that, in thoſe days, all kings were fathers of their people, all lawgivers judicious, and all ſtateſmen wiſe and upright? it follows of neceſſary conſequence, that hiſtory, if ſtudied at all, ought to be ſtudied in Genealogies and Peerages, in Epiſtles dedicatory and funeral Panegyrics: although thoſe benevolent performances neither improve the underſtanding nor enlarge the mind, they do not contain any thing that can ſhock humanity; and may I be permitted to add, they ſeldom contain any thing diſguſtful to the pride of family, or to the prejudices of education.

In the hope that the intelligent reader will accept of this apology, I now preſent to the public a volume, con-

taining "Memorials and Letters relat-
"ing to the reign of Charles I." They are chiefly tranſcribed from the manuſcripts amaſſed with indefatigable induſtry by the late Mr. Robert Wodrow*. Some volumes of that large collection now belong to the Church of Scotland, others, to the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, the reſt are in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Patrick Wodrow, miniſter at Torbolton; from all thoſe volumes I have been permitted to tranſcribe whatever ſuited my purpoſe.

Lord Conway's "Relation of the
"Paſſages in the Northern Expediti-
"on" is printed from the copy preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum: concerning this Relation I need only ſay,

* Author of the Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, in two volumes folio.

that Earl Hardwicke was of opinion that it well deſerved to be made public.

A few of the letters contained in this volume were communicated to me by ſome of my friends. Had not my plan been miſunderſtood, it is probable that more perſons, poſſeſſed of original letters, would have contributed their aſſiſtance to a work which has *the truth of hiſtory* for its aim.

They who cenſured the firſt volume may perhaps ſhew more indulgence to the ſecond. They will there perceive the Covenant ſet in a ludicrous point of view, and its abettors repreſented as " brutiſh bedlamites, " knaves and traitors;" they will not be diſpleaſed at reading the character of the covenanted party, as drawn by its enemies, whatever offence the

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DAV. DALRYMPLE.

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ARCHBISHOP LAUD

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JO. DE MARIA
[A feigned name]
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A PERSON UNKNOWN.

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TO
DR. JOHN LESLY, BISHOP OF RAPHOE.

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LETTER FROM A PERSON UNKNOWN
TO
TWO CONFIDENTS IN SCOTLAND.

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letter-writer, " you will get the eſtates and perſons of " the Engliſh among you, and they will take none of " your goſpel away although they communicate with " you."——Sends two copies of the New Teſtament with abominable pictures of horrible impiety, that come forth by public authority.——The Lord Lieutenant, it is ſaid, hath made overtures of 16,000 men from Ireland;——arms are to be ſent thither;——the Earl of Antrim recommended to the King as one having great power, eſpecially among the M'Donells, who now ſerve under Lord Lorn; he takes with the employment;—— it is ſuſpected that the King means to cajole and divide the Scots;——it is queſtioned how the Scots can ſecure themſelves without incurring the charge of rebellion;—— their carriage has been hitherto unexceptionable, to the amazement of enemies. p. 39.

A PERSON UNKNOWN
TO
WARISTON.

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CERTAIN REMARKABLE PASSAGES
IN THE LETTERS FROM
MR. WILLIAM WILLIE
TO
DR. BALCANQUHAL.

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General;—Biſhops removed out of Parliament, becauſe the Lords of Articles were choſen by the means of the Biſhops, who depended upon the King;——the day of thankſgiving appointed by the General Aſſembly, a day of trembling as much as of joy. p. 47.

WARISTON
TO
LORD JOHNSTON.

Entreats him to lay aſide his intended journey to London;——inſinuates that the Covenanters doubted his ſincerity;—the King's hopes from diviſions in Scotland;—it is neither God's nor King Charles's honour, to be ſerved by halves;——oaths unlawful, as inconſiſtent with the Covenant, required by King Charles;——exhorts him to do nobly, as the noble Lord of Montroſe has done, who, according to his covenant, has refuſed to repair to court at the King's command;——riſes to a ſtrain of rapturous declamation in praiſe of the Covenant;—the Engliſh are no longer formidable;—they have nothing to give;—they may love the treaſon, but they will hate the traitor. p. 49.

MR. WILLIAM COLVILL
TO
LORD BALMERINO.

Diſapproves of the draught of a letter from the covenanted Lords to the French King;——propoſes another, with credentials in his own favour;——ſubmits them to the judgment of the Earl of Lothian and Mr. Robert Leighton, [afterwards the celebrated Biſhop Leighton.] p. 57.

GENERAL ALEXANDER LESLIE
AND
THE EARL OF ROTHES
TO
THE FRENCH KING.

Profeſs their loyalty to their own Sovereign;—repreſent the neceſſity they were under of taking up arms;——on account of the antient and inviolated alliance between France and Scotland, they intreat the interceſſion of the French King. p. 60.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COVENANTERS IN SCOTLAND
TO
THEIR MESSENGER TO THE FRENCH KING.

Repreſent the antient alliance between France and Scotland; their own loyalty; the neceſſity of their arming in ſelf-defence;—entreat the mediation of the French King;—the true ſtate of the queſtion between them and their Sovereign is, Whether they ſhall continue a free church and kingdom, or be enſlaved to the paſſions of a foreign Prelate, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and be treated like a conquered province, as Ireland; whether, in ſuch circumſtances, they ought to reſiſt, or lay down their necks to the ſword, and their conſciences to the yoke;——the good ſervices performed to the French by the Scots in former times, in diverting their enemies at home, and in ſending ſuccours abroad;——the guard of the French King's perſon committed to the fidelity and courage of the Scots;——a maxim of policy to aſſiſt the weaker, for keeping the balance more even;—that the

French King would be pleaſed to interpoſe with King Charles in their behalf; and when matters draw to blood, aſſiſt them either by furniſhing money and arms, or by diverting their invaders;—they offer a continuance of the antient league againſt foreign princes in all civil quarrels;—their caſe different from that of the Proteſtants in France, as they are the whole body of the kingdom, have their religion and liberties eſtabliſhed by law, confirmed by the oath of the King and Eſtates;, and are authorized by law and by precedents to defend themſelves;—King Charles's aſſiſting the Catholics may be a motive to France, in requital, to grant the like. p. 62.

FROM MR. A. BORTHWICK
TO
A PERSON UNKNOWN.

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MR. ROBERT BURNET OF CRIMONT
TO
WARISTON.

Inveighs againſt the proceedings of the Covenanters; juſtifies Sydeſerf, Biſhop of Galloway, as more learned and more conſcientious than any of thoſe who were upon his excommunication;—the French miniſters at Paris would not believe that the Covenanters durſt excommunicate any for not ſubſcribing the Covenant, and hold the excommunication as ineffectual, being *par raiſon d'état ſeulement*;—he adds, "Be not too violent then, "and do as you would be done to, for you know not "how the world will turn yet ——— *aliquid dandum* "*humanitati, ſaltem charitati Chriſtianae.*" p. 72.

JOHN LOCKHART
TO
THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR.

The King diſpleaſed at the delay in proroguing the Scottiſh Parliament;—this delay and the word *unlawful* in the act aboliſhing Biſhops are the things laid to Traquair's charge;—a report that the caſtle of Edinburgh is not properly ſupplied, and that General Ruthven, the Governor, complains of his not having his demands anſwered by Traquair. p. 76.

THE LEADERS OF THE SCOTTISH ARMY,
1640,
TO
A PERSON UNKNOWN, IN FRANCE.

Excuſe their having detained Colonel Ereſkine and his regiment; deſire permiſſion to employ him, who is in

the French King's ſervice; requeſt that Cardinal Richelieu may be informed that the employment which they offer to Colonel Erſkine will do no prejudice to the ſervice of the French King, but, on the contrary, promote it; promiſe, upon a peace, to aſſiſt Colonel Erſkine in making his levies; and to ſhew that true Scotſmen can never forget their antient alliances, and the common intereſt which unites them with France. p 79.

THE LORD CONWAY'S RELATION
CONCERNING
THE PASSAGES IN THE LATE
NORTHERN EXPEDITION, 1640.

Vindicates his own conduct;—the advices which he gave were diſregarded;—orders ſent to him, injudicious, or impracticable;—his troops undiſciplined and diſobedient;—neglect in ſupplying them with money and arms. p. 81.

WARISTON
TO
LORD BALMERINO.

A paper drawn up by the Scottiſh Commiſſioners, is publiſhed without their authority; the King called it a ſeditious libel, and told them they had thereby loſt the benefit of their ſafe-conduct, and that he would make them repent of what they had done; Wariſton ſuſpects that ſome of their own number had publiſhed this paper, in order to exaſperate the King;—the plague of God will light on that preferment that turns away a man's heart, or weakens his hands, in the work of God;———acknowledges that it was raſh to ſuffer the printing of this pa-

per;—Traquair threatens to impeach Argyle, Rothes, and Wariſton for treaſonable ſpeeches; and if he muſt fall, he will leave nothing undone to make heaven and earth fall with him. p. 107.

PART OF A LETTER
FROM
LORD MAITLAND
TO
LORD BALMERINO [probably.]

The violence of the King's anger about the above-mentioned paper is paſt; another paper, in apology for it, has been preſented; the firſt, however, not altogether fruitleſs, for the city has agreed to lend 160,000 l. to the Parliament, which they refuſed before. p. 110.

WARISTON
TO
LORD BALMERINO.

The Scottiſh Commiſſioners differ in opinion as to the extent of their powers;——intention of Strafford and others to attack the Marquis of Hamilton in Parliament, becauſe they ſee themſelves ruined by his ſtanding more with the favour of the honeſt men of both kingdoms. p. 111.

CERTAIN PASSAGES IN THE LETTERS
FROM
WARISTON
TO
LORD BALMERINO.

No judgment of other buſineſs can be made till Strafford's

trial is concluded;—it is not known whether the Engliſh will ſtay the Scottiſh army, or ſave themſelves by themſelves;—great confuſion and danger at London;—after much miſtineſs of buſineſs, the Lord, who doth his own work in his own way, ſeems to turn the chace;—for the Peers back the lower houſe in the purſuit of Strafford;—the committee of the lower houſe has reported the civil places of Biſhops in Parliament, &c. to be unlawful; it is hoped this report will be agreed to; in order to ſtrengthen this, the Scottiſh commiſſioners are to give in their demands for the removal of Epiſcopacy out of all his Majeſty's dominions;—an index of their demands already given in; that concerning no war with foreigners, unleſs by mutual counſel, and that concerning *conſervationes pacis*, diſpleaſing to the King;—the lower houſe has declared, 4 or 5 only diſſenting, that Biſhops ſhould have neither civil places, nor voice in Parliament;———the Earl of Cork has proved ſome foul points againſt Strafford;———commiſſioners come from Ireland with proteſtations againſt the Prelates; the Scottiſh Commiſſioners gave in their large demand for unity in religion and government; "all which com-"ing on the King together, and on a ſuddenty, you "may gueſs what a mood they would put him in.' theſe good news worth ſolemn praiſe and prayer from the kirk of Scotland; adviſes againſt ſending up the Laird of Keir, who might ſtrengthen Traquair's faction and correſpondence with Montroſe;———the King will haſte for to poſt away 21, [probably the Scottiſh army] to ſave Strafford and Epiſcopacy, but the Scots Commiſſioners peremptorily inſiſt for an anſwer to their paper concerning unity in religion;———ſome of them were

moved to preſs diſbanding the Engliſh and Iriſh armies, which could not be done without an offer, on their part, to diſband the Scottiſh army; ---- if the lower houſe ſees that the King gains many of the Peers to favour Strafford, they will proceed againſt him by bill of *teinture*; the faſt in Scotland falls out timeouſly;———the accuſations againſt incendiaries in Scotland ought to be prepared;—ſince mercenary advocates are not ſo ſtudious in public purſuit for the commonwealth, as in private proceſſes of well paying clients, he therefore adviſes that they be paid largely before hand; he adviſes caution, becauſe Traquair will make no conſcience, by large bribes, to lay lawyers by, and make their ſervants reveal the moſt ſecret articles that are againſt him;——— if Wariſton were not one of the chief witneſſes, he would ſeek to be his purſuer; however, if he can get down to Scotland, he will do his utmoſt to help the lawyers to propone things;———Lord Holland is made General of the King's army, which is ſtrange, while armies ſhould diſband;—the pleaders at London have fine rencounters of ſpeech, but little ſyllogiſtical ſolidity of matter;—wiſhes the advocates in Scotland be better furniſhed for the trial of the incendiaries;—deſires that money be not ſpared to ſpur them on;———Oneil and Wilmot are engaged in plots;———perhaps, if the French ſhould land, this iſland may become united;—whatever God does is beſt for himſelf and his people;—buſineſs is going in God's old way p. 114.

WARISTON

TO

ADAM HEPBURN OF HUMBIE.

War to be expected rather than peace;—the lower houſe

paſſed the bill againſt Strafford, about 30 diſſenting;—the King will not conſent to the act of oblivion, unleſs it be general;—threatens to charge ſome of the Scots as guilty of treaſon, and ſend them to be tried by their own Parliament; more probable that he will ſecure them as pledges for the Scots army remaining quiet.—Wariſton has offered to be yoked in one chain with Traquair, and, upon their mutual accuſations, that the innocent may go free, and the guilty be puniſhed;—he is willing to ſuffer death, rather than that the Parliament of Scotland ſhould be brow-beaten from their purſuit of incendiaries;—after ſuch recriminations, the incendiaries deſerve juſtice rather than mercy;—he adds, "If any of "us be accuſed here, ye ſhall think what to do with "ſome there, ſeeing we hear it comes from Montroſe." p. 120.

WARISTON
TO
ADAM HEPBURN OF HUMBIE.

Account of his conference with the King;—the King is adviſed to ſtick on the act of oblivion, to ſave Traquair if he grant it, or to enſnare any Engliſh whom he apprehends to have had intelligence with Scotland, if he grant it not;—made a fair anſwer in other particulars; promiſed to get money for the pay of the Scottiſh army, if the Parliament of England did not ſpeedily end that buſineſs; endeavoured to create jealouſies of the Parliament;—ſwore that he will come to Scotland and hold a Parliament;—cried and ſwore, that, if the Scots excepted any, he alſo would except ſome;—the plot of excepting ſome of the Scots, and of cauſing the King

to declare his intention of going to Scotland, is ſuſpected to come from ſome of the Scots commiſſioners themſelves, at the inſtigation of Traquair;----Wariſton expreſſes his zeal againſt incendiaries, as in the laſt letter; — he adds, " Look to your army, and be on your " guard, if they could get an opportunity to rub an ir- " reparable affront on you, paper-bonds would be ſoon " broken."———deſires that Balmerino may waken his lawyers againſt the incendiaries, to be more diligent and intent. p. 124.

WARISTON
TO
LORD BALMERINO.

Upon the ſame ſubject with the two former letters.----He has no malice, nor particular end, but only that the honour of the kingdom be preferred to the King's point of honour; he adds, " Command us to be ſtout; be dili- " gent with your cauſe, prepare your armies ——— the " lower houſe has given up their bill, grow in ſtrength, " will not riſe: they have Strafford's life, are thinking " on monies for us ——— Lord encourage and direct " them." p. 129.

WARISTON
TO
LORD BALMERINO.

Repeats what he had formerly ſaid;----the Scottiſh Parliament ſhould lay a neceſſity on Sir Thomas Nicolſon to plead the cauſe for the commonwealth againſt the incendiaries;----deſires that enquiry be made, in the moſt ſecret manner, whether the *regalia* and the regiſters be all

left in the caſtle of Edinburgh; if Traquair or the Clerk Regiſter have taken them away, it were a fact of clear treaſon;----but would have this kept cloſe till the very day of appearance for trial.--- "The Parliament is "to fall to our demands, and to get us money. God is "going on in ſome hidden way for his ſon's crown, it "will break forth." p. 131.

PART OF A LETTER
FROM
LORD BALMERINO
TO
A PERSON UNKNOWN.

Obſerves it, as a ſtrange myſtery of theſe times, that ſome, having no principles of religion, ſhould fall fairer in the preſent courſe of church-affairs, than others who have profeſſed and practiſed, done and ſuffered;---as the ſolliciting of preferment is againſt the covenant, ſo avarice is the root of all evil;---has retained ſo much of the liturgy as to ſay "[from this] good Lord deliver us." p. 135.

EARL OF ROTHES
TO
WARISTON.

Deſires him to keep up his worſt againſt Traquair, till he hear from Lord Loudon, who is to receive ſome inſtructions from the King, with whom they have had hard work;----mentions a place being offered to him, he ſuffered the Marquis of Hamilton and others to move in it, from their ſenſe of the good of the kingdom; if he defers to accept of it, times and diſpoſitions are uncertain;

thinks he is at liberty to accept of it, but will not, unleſs his friends approve; he adds, "On my honour, I "have not failed in any jot of my duty, to my know- "ledge, but this is an age of unjuſt cenſuring." p. 136.

GENERAL DAVID LESLIE
TO
MR. THOMAS HENDERSON.

Reaſons againſt his accepting a command in his own country; that it is impoſſible for any man ſo to carry himſelf as to pleaſe all men; that he has great ones in Scotland for his enemies; that the King, with all reverence, would ſee him hanged; that he could get hohourable preferment abroad; yet they who have done ſo much for him ſhall command him in that cauſe he has ſworn to. p. 138.

KING CHARLES I.
TO
THE MAGISTRATES OF GLASGOW.

Declares his willingneſs to give all poſſible aſſurances to preſerve inviolably the graces and favours which he has of late granted to the kingdom of Scotland; and faithfully promiſes that he will never rule to the contrary of any thing there eſtabliſhed, either in the eccleſiaſtical or civil government;---wiſhes God ſo to bleſs his proceedings and his poſterity, as he does really make good and perform this promiſe;----none who juſtly deſerve the name and puniſhment of incendiaries ſhall be ſcreened from the hands of juſtice. p. 140.

EARL OF LANERICK
TO
THE MAGISTRATES OF GLASGOW
Accompanying the King's letter;---he will not ſo much injure their affections to his Majeſty, as to believe that any man in Glaſgow will ever queſtion the truth of his Majeſty's gracious expreſſions. p. 142.

A PERSON UNKNOWN
TO
WARISTON.
Sir John Hotham taken;----his threatning letter to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons;---although providence balances the ſucceſs of the war alternately, yet it is very remarkable that no plot againſt the parliament hath eſcaped diſcovery;----Lord Fairfax's defeat at Tadcaſter will advance the treaty with the Scots;----if the Engliſh could do their buſineſs by themſelves, they would ſave the Scots a labour, and themſelves much money, and ſome credit;---the Scots ought, by a powerful mediation, to reconcile King and Parliament;----as the Scots have cleared themſelves from the charge of their aiming at the King's authority, they will be very fit mediators to undeceive the King, and clear the Parliament;----Sir William Waller as great a terror to the Royaliſts as Scanderbeg to the Turks;----Eſſex's delays in carrying on the war, and his deſires for an accommodation with the King, are cenſured;---*cunctando rem reſtituere* will not ſerve at all times;---many men have attempted baſely to betray a good cauſe, but God will finiſh it happily;---need of General Officers in Eſſex's army;---Skippon, a very honeſt man, but a low country ſoldier;---the Scots

are exhorted to zeal for the good and peace of the two kingdoms, chiefly in what concerns religion; and to be ready, in their ſtations, when the cauſe of God requires their aſſiſtance;----Percy and Wilmot, two delinquents, promoted to the peerage. p. 143.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

Curious narrative of Montroſe's ſucceſs, and its cauſes;---the Scots conſtant in all duties to the Engliſh, notwithſtanding their ingratitude and provocations;---account of the new-modelled army;----ſome ſuſpect that it will conclude a treaty with the King, to the prejudice of the Presbyterians;----ſundry wiſe men believe that it is not ſo full of ſectaries, and are aſſured of its honeſty and obedience to the Parliament;---if the new-modelled army ſhould prove unſucceſsful, the Scottiſh army, ſtrengthened by Engliſh officers, now out of employment, may do their buſineſs. p. 149.

LORD BALMERINO
TO
WARISTON.

Hopes that the uncircumciſed Philiſtines [Montroſe's army] are hardened to their own ruin, though to the humiliation of the covenanted party;----laments the ſtate of the nation, the ſelfiſhneſs of ſome, and the over-ſecurity of all;---propoſal for engaging the Dutch to aſſiſt the Scots in Ireland; Galway and other places, excellent invitations, as cautionary towns, for them;----they who are not forward to entertain this propoſal, may be ſuſpected;

---ſome ſupply muſt be had, for the Scottiſh Parliament have no further means of raiſing money. p. 154.

ALLAN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL
TO
SIR JAMES GRANT OF FREUCHIE.

Praiſes God that he and his friends are innocent of any intention of ſpoiling the country of the Grants; his friends went to Murray-land, where all men take their prey, and ſpoiled the lands of the Laird of Moynes, not knowing that he was a Grant;---a fray enſued, in which Lochiel had eight of his friends killed, and more, dangerouſly wounded;---propoſes that the matter may be ſettled by the arbitration of their common friends. p. 156.

ALLAN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL
TO
THE EARL OF SEAFORTH.

On the ſame ſubject with the preceding letter;---entreats the friendly interpoſition of Lord Seaforth;---excuſes his poor friends, for that they had no choice but to fight or die. p. 158.

EARL OF LANERICK
TO
MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

Entreats Mr. Baillie to judge favourably of him, until he have an opportunity of clearing himſelf from calumnies; ---- profeſſes that his affectionate deſires have been to ſerve his country according to his covenant. p. 159.

MR ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
THE EARL OF LANERICK.

In anſwer to the preceding letter; pathetically exhorts him, and all Scotſmen, to lay aſide their animoſities, and conſult the welfare of their diſtreſſed country;---if they continue at variance, the King will be brought down, and the power of the nobles aboliſhed; this, ſays Mr. Baillie, " is ſomewhere in the world much deſired, and " far advanced, though my heart did ever abhor it." P. 161.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

The prevalent party, the Independants, deſire nothing ſo much as the King's refuſal of any one of the propoſitions ſent to him;---it is the deſign of many to aboliſh monarchy, and ſettle themſelves in a new kind of popular government;---the Prince's going to France furthers this deſign;---if the King agree to all the propoſitions, the majority are willing that he ſhould return with ſo much power and honour, as may, in a little time, bring him to all his juſt and pious deſires;---he deceives himſelf, if he expects any diviſions; for, unleſs he paſs the propoſitions, all will agree to ruin him, his family, and adherents;----divers, from whom it was leaſt expected, are for putting away the whole royal race. [24th April, 1646.] Scotland will be ruined unleſs the King agree to the propoſitions; though he ſhould ſwear it, no man will believe that he ſticks upon Epiſcopacy for any conſcience;---improper perſons on the committee, occaſioned by the inſuperable wilfulneſs of ſome, but

without any deſign to irritate the King;---hopes that Richmond, Hamilton, and Argyle will do their uttermoſt to perſuade the King to do his duty;---neceſſary for the intereſt of Scotland, that thoſe noblemen be really reconciled to one another;---he adds, "It has been "the King's perpetual fault, to grant his people's de- "ſires by bits, and ſo late, he ever loſt his thanks. "Muſt we yet wait an oracle from France." p. 164.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

The Commons have voted that the Scottiſh army ſhall be gone, that, when they go, 50,000 l. ſhall be paid, and as much upon delivery of the garriſons; this is an evidence, among many more, of this people's intentions towards the Scots;—the faction rejoices at the King's obſtinacy.--- "If the King," ſays Mr. Baillie, "would "do his duty, in ſpight of all knaves, all would in a mo- "ment go right; but if God have hardened him, ſo "far as I can perceive, this people will ſtrive to have "him in their power, and make an example of him; I "abhor to think of it what they ſpeak of execution." [9th May, 1646.]----Every hour of delay gives advantage to the Independants. p. 166.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

To the ſame purpoſe with the preceding letter;---the King muſt either yield to reaſon, or will fall in tragic miſeries, without commiſeration;---if he ſtickle on Biſhops and

delinquents, and ſuch fooliſh toys, it ſeems he is mad; ---if he be reſolved to ſtop the mouths of the Scots, and bind their hands, that they can neither ſpeak nor do for him, let him go on to make himſelf and the Scots miſerable;---wiſhes woe to the villains who have bewitched, poiſoned, and infatuated a good Prince, to the ruin of himſelf and of millions. p. 168.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

To the ſame purpoſe with the preceding letter;---hears that France has or will looſe, very eaſily, the ſcruple of conſcience as to Epiſcopacy;---cenſures the coming of the French ambaſſador to the King at Newcaſtle;---all men ſeek themſelve above any thing, either private or public. p. 170.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON

The King's madneſs has confounded them all;---the weight that lies on Mr. Henderſon's heart is known;---this is feared to be the fountain of his diſeaſe. p. 172.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

Oxford, the beſt builded and booked univerſity in the world, but the worſt provided of learned and orthodox men;---little hope of peace, or of an end of troubles; if the King refuſe the propoſitions, ſad votes are feared.

--- " It will be our endeavours," ſays Mr. Baillie, " to " keep the houſes from ſudden concluſions; they take a " long time to the ſmalleſt affairs, but, I fear, they be " too quick in depoſing the King, and ſetting a day to the " Prince.----Many of the King's greateſt friends think " his obſtinacy judicial, as if, in God's juſtice, he were " deſtroying himſelf. I fear he will down with him, and " all his poſterity, and monarchy alſo, in this iſle."----- Mr. Henderſon is dying of heart-break.--- " Our gran- " dees are like to be ſtate-ſchiſmatics, and the worſt " ſide to be the ſtrongeſt.---A truly pious and really pu- " blic man is a rare piece upon earth." p. 173.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

It ſeems that moſt of the Engliſh are inclined to declare againſt the King, and *that* without much regrete;---no remedy but a quick meſſage from the King, granting all the propoſitions;---the French ambaſſador and his letters taken;---the Parliament's agents at Paris write of leagues between the King and princes on the continent; ---the belief of theſe things, how falſe ſoever, equivalent to the truth;----Ormond's pacification with the Iriſh very unreaſonable;---the placing about the Prince's perſon, Hobbes, a profeſſed Atheiſt, as they ſpeak, is ill taken. p. 176.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. ROBERT BLAIR.

In the ſame ſtrain with the letters to Mr. Henderſon;---if

the King does not, within a very few days, ſend a ſimple and abſolute grant of the propoſitions, he will quickly obtain his deſire, a matyrdom; a perpetual cloſe priſon will, at leaſt, be his portion;---they ought to be declared infamous who enſnare the King, by taking any honour, place, or promiſe from him, in his preſent condition;---thoſe traiterous whiſperers are impudent liars, who would make the King believe that the ſectaries are not his extremely malicious enemies, burning for the day to caſt him, and all his poſterity, out of England. p. 177.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. WILLIAM MURRAY
OF THE BED-CHAMBER.

Sends a memorandum, in teſtimony of his love and compaſſion towards a periſhing Prince, and three kingdoms, ready to fall in extreme miſeries. p. 180.

MEMORANDUM
TO MR. WILLIAM MURRAY.

Referred to in the foregoing letter;---after ſome friendly advice to Mr. Murray, he adds, if he would be thankful to his maſter, that he flatter him not to his ruin;---all are willing to have the King deſtroyed, if he continue obſtinate;---his partial and qualified grants are taken for tricks to make new diviſions and parties;---it is exceedingly provoking that his reſolutions ſhould depend upon France;---his kingdom will not be governed by packets from beyond ſea;---if he deſire not to ruin the innocent Prince, he ought to bring him quickly out of France; or, if that is not in his power, to put Hobbes, and ſuch

wicked men from about the Prince, and place the beſt men in his ſervice;---if he join with Ireland, and endeavour to embroil Scotland, the remainder of love and pity towards him, which is yet in the hearts of many, will be extinguiſhed;---if Mr. Murray has any regard for poor Scotland, he muſt endeavour to divert its engagement in a new war;---ſuch an engagement would terminate in the utter deſolation of Scotland;--- Mr Baillie is earneſt that thoſe truths ſhould be repreſented to the King, becauſe, ſays he, "I have many good witneſſes of my reſpects to monarchy, and to King Charles's perſon, above many, if not all my fellows." p. 181,

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE
TO
MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

Falſity of the reports of Mr. Henderſon's recantation on death-bed.--- "I have it," ſays Mr. Baillie, "under his own hand, a little before his death, that he was utterly diſpleaſed with the King's ways, and ever the longer the more." p. 184.

PATRICK MAULE, EARL OF PANMURE,
TO
WARISTON.

The King greatly prepoſſeſſed againſt Wariſton;---he thinks that they ſeek his ruin, who preſs the Covenant on him;---report of the King's reſolving to go with the French ambaſſador; but it is likely he will take any courſe before he ſubmit to the Covenant;----it is ſuſpected that the army will not obey the orders for retiring, until they ſee the King ſettled with honour and ſafety. p 285.

PATRICK MAULE, EARL OF PANMURE,
TO
WARISTON.

The King is reſolved to ſuffer the worſt, rather than ſubmit to what is deſired of him;----much diſpleaſed with the proceedings of the Scottiſh Parliament, and particularly irritated againſt Wariſton;----difficulties in which the kingdom of Scotland may chance to be involved, by being either forced to take the King into Scotland, or to leave him without conditions;---this laſt, it is thought, the ſoldiers will never do;----Chancellor Loudon will not be ſo well received by the King as he deſerves. p. 188.

PATRICK MAULE, EARL OF PANMURE,
TO
WARISTON.

The King much diſpleaſed with the reſolutions of the Scottiſh Parliament;---for this he blames certain perſons, who have endeavoured, to their uttermoſt, his ruin;---he is reſolved for the worſt, and will ſuffer any thing, rather than ſubmit to the Covenant;---it is thought that the Parliament of England will not be ſo rigid, in that point, as the Parliament of Scotland;---if the King be once from the Scots, they will have but an ill game to play;---his affections will be alienated from the nation, and there will be little help from England;---the King is fully reſolved upon going to Holmby; he thinks that the Scots have ſold him at too cheap a rate, and have abſolutely quitted their intereſt in him.---- "If," ſays Lord Panmure, "our poſterity find not the ſmart thereof, it "is well." p. 190.

# CHARLES I.

## TO

# THE LORDS OF SESSION IN SCOTLAND.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED COUSIN AND COUNSELLOR, AND TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED, WE GREET YOU WELL,

WHEREAS we were formerly pleaſed to require the Lords of our Privy Council to give order, by public proclamation, or otherways, as they ſhould think fit, that they, and you of our College of Juſtice, and members thereof, ſhould communicate twice * every year in our chapel at Holyroodhouſe; but now being willing, for good conſiderations, that the communion be oftner celebrated there, and to nominate ſuch times as we have thought fit for the purpoſe, it is our pleaſure, that every firſt Sunday of the months of July and December yearly, that you prepare and addreſs yourſelves, with your advocates, clerks, writers, and all other members of that judicatory, to whom you ſhall cauſe intimate this our pleaſure, to our ſaid chapel, to participate of that holy ſacrament, that others, by your example, may learn and obſerve the laudable order in that caſe preſcribed; wherein fail not, as ye tender our princely reſpect and pleaſure, and as ye will anſwer to the contrary; for we will not ſuffer you, who

* *once.*

ſhould precede others by your good example, to be leaders of our other ſubjects to contemn and diſobey the orders of the church. So, requiring you to cauſe theſe our letters to be regiſtred in your books of ſederunt, we bid you farewel.

From our mannor of Greenwich,
13th May, 1634.*

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* This order is tranſcribed from the *books of ſederunt*, or the regiſter of the Court of Seſſion.

It ſeems that few of the Lords had obeyed the former order, calculated for eſtabliſhing the practice of kneeling at the communion. This peremptory injunction ſerved only to ſhew that the King was urging a meaſure diſagreeable to the lawyers in Scotland; when he ſaid "we will not ſuffer you "to be leaders of our other ſubjects to contemn and diſ- "obey the orders of the church," he notified to the people that the College of Juſtice had contemned his orders and thoſe of the church, and pointed out *who* were the leaders in diſobedience. Nothing could be more injudicious and impolitic.

# ARCHBISHOP LAUD*

## TO

## BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE,†

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

YOU are much beholden to my Lord Stirling; and for myſelf, I did you the beſt ſervice I could, and am glad your troubleſome ſuits are at

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* The following letters from Archbiſhop Laud to the Biſhops Bellenden and Maxwell, were made part of the charge by the Scottiſh commiſſioners againſt the Archbiſhop in December 1640. It does not however appear, that they were ever produced in ſupport of that charge. See *Troubles and Trial of Laud.* p. 89. 91. The letters are now in a very imperfect condition; ſome parts of them are worn away, others much defaced; the editor has, from conjecture, ſupplied a few words, and diſtinguiſhed them by *Italics*. It may be proper to obſerve, that the letters contain ſome paſſages relating to the ſalaries of the choiriſters in the King's chapel; ſuch paſſages do not ſerve to illuſtrate the hiſtory of thoſe times; they are therefore omitted. For a like reaſon, the editor has, in the courſe of this collection, omitted many paſſages which relate to private and unintereſting occurrences.

† Son of Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoul, Juſtice Clerk, conſecrated Biſhop of Dunblane in 1615. *Keith's Catalogue of Scottiſh Biſhops.* p. 79.

an end. I hope that which the King hath now done will preſerve you againſt your preſſing neceſſities, through which I pray God ſend you a good paſſage; but for Weſtminſter foes they did very much wrong you, whoever they *were*, that made thoſe relations to you of that great ſum; for my former letters told the truth to you.

Concerning your *preferment, until another* place falls, I can promiſe nothing; but I aſſure *you, his Majeſty* hath a very good opinion both of you and your ſervice; and therefore I *make no doubt* but that he will take you and your eſtate into his conſideration. At this time you have given his Majeſty good content, and he expects that you continue in your courſe; let him ſtill receive a note who they be that conform, and who not, for I ſee his Majeſty is reſolved to go conſtantly on, and therefore you muſt not fail.

Lambeth, January 14th,
$16\frac{33}{34}$.

# ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

# BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I AM right ſorry for the death of the Biſhop of Edinburgh *, the loſs being very great both to the King and the church. I acquainted his Majeſty how needful it was to fill that place with an able ſucceſſor; and when mention was made of divers men to ſucceed, I did, as you deſire, ſhew his Majeſty what your deſires were, and what neceſſities lay upon you. After much conſideration of the buſineſs, his Majeſty reſolved to give the biſhoprick of Edinburgh to my Lord of Brechin †; and for yourſelf, he commanded me to write expreſly to you, that he did not take it well, that, contrary to his expreſs commands, you had omitted prayer in his chapel royal according to the En-

---

* William Forbes, firſt Biſhop of Edinburgh, a perſon of diſtinguiſhed merit. See preface to the life of Biſhop Bedel by Biſhop Burnet.

† David Lindſay, conſecrated in 1619. Of him Dr. Arthur Johnſton thus ſpeaks,

*Nec tibi Presbyteri minuit, Lindſoee, labores,*
*Inſula, nec mores mutat honoris apex.*

gliſh Liturgy, with ſome other omiſſions there, which pleaſe him not; beſides, his Majeſty hath heard that there have been lately ſome differences in Edinburgh about the ſufferings of Chriſt, &c. * and that your Lordſhip was ſome cauſe of them; or, at leaſt, ſuch an occaſion as might have bred much diſturbance, if the late Biſhop of Edinburgh his care and temper had not moderated it; and this his Majeſty is not well pleaſed with neither: and this hath been the cauſe, as I conceive, why his Majeſty hath paſſed you over in this remove; and you ſhall do very well to apply yourſelf better both to his Majeſty's ſervice, and the well ordering of the church, leſt you give juſt occaſion to the King to paſs you by when any other remove falls. I am very ſorry that I muſt write thus unto you, but the only way of help lies in yourſelf and your own carriage; and therefore, if you will not be careful of that, I do not ſee what any friend can be able to do for you. Therefore, not doubting but you will take theſe things into ſerious conſide-

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* The uſe which the Scottiſh commiſſioners made of this letter is remarkable. They ſaid that Laud "taxed "Bellenden for his boldneſs in preaching the ſound doc- "trine of the reformed kirks againſt Mr. Mitchell, who had "taught the error of Arminius in the point of the extent "of the merit of Chriſt." To this Laud anſwered, "They "ſhould do well to ſhow my letter, and then I will anſwer "to any thing in it." *Troubles and Trial of Laud.* page 90.

ration, for your own good, I leave you to the grace of God, and reſt

Your Lordſhip's

very loving friend and brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, May 6th,
1634.

# ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

# BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

My haſte at this time forces me to write very briefly. And theſe are to let you know, that I writ nothing in my former letter but as the King was informed, and myſelf by him commanded. I have now read your Lordſhip's letters to his Majeſty, which hath in ſome part ſatisfied him, but not altogether.

And for the firſt, his Majeſty ſaith, that though the gentlemen of the chapel royal did abſent themſelves for fear of arreſts, having not to pay, and that that might hinder the ſervice in the chapel in a ſolemn and formal way of ſinging by them; yet his Majeſty thinks you might have got a chaplain of your own to have read the Engliſh Liturgy, that ſo the work, for the main part of it, might have gone on; and for the payment of theſe men, I think your Lordſhip knows I have done all the good offices I can, but have it not in my power to mend all the difficulties of the times.

Concerning the diſturbance that was in Edinburgh, if any wrong was done your Lordſhip, that muſt lye upon them who miſrepreſented you to the King, whoever they were; and however the King took it not ill that you adviſed the then Biſhop of

Edinburgh, to appeaſe the differences, for that was very worthy and diſcreetly done by you. But, as far as I remember, the charge laid upon you to the King, was, that in your own ſermon, which you preached about that time, you did rather ſide with one party, than either repreſs or compoſe the difference; though I muſt needs confeſs to your Lordſhip, that, by reaſon of the multitude of buſineſs which lye upon me, I cannot charge my memory with the particulars.

You have done very well to acquaint the Lords of Council and Seſſion, &c. with his Majeſty's reſolution concerning the communion in the chapel royal; and I doubt not, if you continue to do that which his Majeſty looks for in the courſe of your church, and which is moſt juſt and fit to be done, but that you will eaſily recover his Majeſty's favour, and find the good of it. So, in haſte, I leave you to the grace of God; and reſt

Your Lordſhip's

very loving friend and brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, July 1ſt,
1634.

## ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

## BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE,

I HAVE a ſecond time moved his Majeſty concerning them that obeyed or diſobeyed his commands in receiving the communion in the chapel at Holyroodhouſe, and you ſhall not fail to receive his Majeſty's anſwer by my Lord of Roſs; ſo that I ſhall not need to be further troubleſome to you in that particular.

Croydon, October 4th,
1634.

# PART OF A LETTER

FROM

# ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

# BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I AM very glad to hear your reſolutions for the ordering of his Majeſty's chapel royal, and that you are reſolved to wear your whites, notwithſtanding the maliciouſneſs of fooliſh men. I know his Majeſty will take your obedience and care very well; and being fully ſatisfied both concerning your ſermon, and all things elſe committed to your truſt, you may, as opportunity ſerves, expect from his Majeſty all reaſonable things; and I ſhall not be wanting to give you all the aſſiſtance that I can upon all occaſions; of which I heartily pray you not to doubt.

Lambeth, January 12th.
$16\frac{34}{35}$.

# ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

# BELLENDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

THE King has been acquainted with your care of the chapel royal, and is very well pleaſed with the conformity which hath been there at the laſt reception of the bleſſed ſacrament; and, for my part, I am heartily glad to ſee in what a fair way the church buſineſs now are in thoſe parts. I hope, if the Biſhops be pleaſed to continue their good example, and their care, all things will ſettle beyond expectation.

The King hath declared his pleaſure concerning your Biſhopricks now void, and hath given you the biſhoprick of Aberdeen, as you will learn more at large by my lord of Roſs; but, being an univerſity, and a place of conſequence, he will have you reſide there, and relies much upon you for your well-ordering that place. I am very glad the King hath been ſo mindful of you, and given you ſo good a teſtimony upon this occaſion of your remove. So I leave you to the grace of God, and reſt

Your Lordſhip's
very loving friend and brother,
W. CANT.

Lambeth, May 19th,
1635.

# ARCHBISHOP LAUD

TO

# MAXWELL, BISHOP OF ROSS.

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

My Lord Stirling is not yet come, but I have acquainted his Majeſty in what forwardneſs your Liturgy there is, and with what approbation it is like to come forth. And, by the King's command, I have ſent for Young the printer, the better to prepare him to make ready a black letter, and to bethink himſelf to ſend to his ſervants at Edinburgh, that ſo, againſt the Lord Stirling's coming all things might be in the better readineſs, which is all the ſervice I can do till his Lordſhip come.

I am very glad your Canons are alſo in ſo good a readineſs, and that the true meaning of that one Canon remains ſtill under the curtain. I hope you will take care that it may be printed and paſſed with the reſt. 'Twill be of great uſe for the ſettling of that church.*

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* Concerning this the Scots commiſſioners thus ſpeak; "There be ſome things more ſpecial, worthy to be adverted "unto, for diſcovering his ſpirit. Firſt, the fourth CANON "of Ch. 8. *For as much as no reformation in doctrine or "diſcipline can be made perfect at once in any church,*

I thank you for your care of Dr. Wedderburn;* he is very able to do ſervice, and will certainly do it, if you can keep up his heart. I was in good hope he had been conſecrated, as well as my Lord of Brechin, † but I perceive he is not; what the reaſon is I know not, but 'tis a thouſand pities that thoſe uncertainties abide with him. I pray commend my love to him, and tell him, I would not

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" *therefore it ſhall and may be lawful for the kirk of Scot-*
" *land, at any time, to make remonſtrances to his Majeſty*
" *or his ſucceſſors*, &c. becauſe this Canon holds the door
" open to more innovations; he writes to the Prelate of
" Roſs, his prime agent in all this work, of his great
" gladneſs, that this Canon did ſtand behind the curtain;
" and his great deſire, that this Canon might be printed
" fully, as one that was to be moſt uſeful."

Laud's anſwer to this charge is remakable. " As for
" that phraſe, ſaid to be in my letter, that *this Canon did*
" *ſtand behind the curtain*; it was thus occaſioned. My
" Lord the Biſhop of Roſs writ unto me, from the Arch-
" biſhop of St. Andrews, that no words might be made of
" this Canon; (what their reaſon was, they beſt know;)
" I returned anſwer, belike, in this ſort; that *the Canon*
" *ſtood behind the curtain*, and would not be thoroughly
" underſtood by every man, yet adviſed the printing, in re-
" gard of the neceſſary uſe of it." *Troubles and Trial of Laud*. p. 101.

* James Wedderburn, Profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity of St. Andrews, Biſhop of Dunblane in 1636.

† Walter Whiteford, Biſhop of Brechin in 1634.

have him ſtick at any thing, for the King will not leave him long at Dunblane after he hath once ſettled the chapel right, which I ſee will ſettle apace, if he keep his footing. My letters are gone to the Biſhop of Aberdeen, by the King's command, to deſert his proteſtation concerning the chapel, and to leave the rents preſently to Dr. Wedderburn; and 'twill not be long ere letters come from the King to take off the annats from the biſhopricks; and Dr. Forbes being the late Biſhop's executor, being a worthy man, may be better conſidered ſome other way. As for the annats of the miniſters, the King is reſolved not to touch them at this time.

Concerning that which you mention about fitting of the chapel, both ſilver veſſels and other ornaments, upon the ſale now to be made of ſome ſtuff of the King's; I think my Lord of St. Andrews will very ſhortly receive a letter, under the King's hand, to give power for all that you deſire; and then, if you do not ſee the chapel well furniſhed, the blame for ever be yours.

The Biſhop of Brechin is come, and my Lord of St. Andrews hath written at large by him, and I have given my Lord's Grace anſwer to all the particulars as well as I can. Indeed, my Lord, I hold nothing certain at court till it be done; yet I have that affiance in my Lord Marquis, that I am confident that he will paſs Arbrothe, full and wholly, precincts and all, and his Majeſty is of the ſame opinion with me. Therefore I hope that both my Lord of St. Andrews fear *and yours is cauſeleſs.*

The next paſſage in your letter is only an expreſſion of an apprehenſion which you *ſeem to entertain* that if they can bring you into diſgrace with the King, *they will find* eaſier paſſage to damnify the church. I pray trouble not yourſelf with theſe conceits, but ſerve God and the King, and leave the reſt to their protection. It may be ſuch a fear were fitter for me, and perhaps I have juſter cauſe of apprehenſion, would I give way to ſuch thoughts.

In the next paſſage you are more confident; hold you there, and let no man ſtagger you in the ſervice of God and the King. But whereas you write that ſome which have promiſed and proteſted fair to me concerning the church, have in all judicatures, ſince your laſt return, gone againſt the church, I pray name them; for I am loth to miſtake perſons; and then I ſhall not ſpare to acquaint the King with what they do; and, in the mean time, you have no cauſe to doubt, either the change of the King's countenance, or his giving full credit to any againſt the church, till the church be heard.

You need not fear any thing in my Lord of Roxburgh's buſineſs, for I do not believe the King will erect any other biſhoprick in haſte. God bleſs him, and make him able to better thoſe which are already, and ſtand in need of help. I do not hear of any alteration to the leſſer or the more about the exchequer there; but ſhould there be any, I have moved his Majeſty that nothing be concluded till my Lord of St. Andrews judgment be known,

according as you desire. As for the instance you make in the annuity of tithes, I read that also to the King; and you cannot but remember that the King hath said enough to you. That part——— be enough.

My Lord, for the close of your letter, all that I can say is this, my assistance you shall have in all just and honourable ways for the church; but the King is so gracious of himself, that you may be better able at any time to do your own business with him, than I am able to do it for you, being not able to understand many difficulties of your businesses. Yet, considering my presence is here, where yours cannot always be, I shall be ever ready to serve you, as I have been, that is, to the utmost of my power. So, wishing you all health and happiness, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's

very loving friend and brother,

W. CANT.

Croydon, Sept. 19th,
1635.

## JUXON, BISHOP OF LONDON,

TO

## MAXWELL, BISHOP OF ROSS.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

UPON the receipt of your former letters, I preſently repaired to my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, and got a diſpatch of what you deſired to have contained in your Common Prayer Book. I hope ere this it hath found the way to Edinburgh, that your proof ſtand not ſtill; for I was enforced with ſignification of the haſte it required to leave the way of conveyance upon his Grace, becauſe, my letters coming from Newmarket, where the court then was, by an unknown hand, I knew not well how to get it returned.

With your letter of the 6th of this month I received your Book of Canons, which, perchance, at firſt will make more noiſe than all the cannons in Edinburgh-caſtle; but when mens ears have been uſed a while to the ſound of them, they will not ſtartle ſo much at it, as now at the firſt; and, perchance, find them as uſeful for preſervation of the church, as the others for the commonweal. Our prayers here are for the happy proceedings in that great ſervice; wherewith I reſt

Your Lordſhip's aſſured friend,
to ſerve you,
GUL. LONDON.

London-houſe, 17th February, 1635.

# THE EARL OF STIRLING,

## SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

## MAXWELL, BISHOP OF ROSS.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I THANK you very heartily for your Book of the Canons, which I received yeſternight. I was preſent in the morning when my Lord of Canterbury delivered the Book to the King, which, as ſoon as his Majeſty had read ſome part of it, he delivered unto me; and I was glad to hear him ſo well pleaſed therewith. I find ſome errors in the printer, by miſtaking or renverſing the letters; and therefore have the more care in looking to that in printing of the Service-Book, for Young the printer is the greateſt knave that ever I dealt with; and therefore truſt nothing to him nor his ſervants but what of neceſſity you muſt, &c. *

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* The reſt of this letter is of no moment. The reader may be ſurprized to ſee that the only concern of the Secretary of State ſeems to be about ſome ſmall typographical errors committed in printing of the Canons; but it muſt be remembered that Lord Stirling was himſelf an author, and that by mentioning thoſe errors he ſhowed that he had reviſed the book.

# JOHN DE MARIA

[A feigned name]

TO

# A PERSON UNKNOWN.

SIGNIOR MIO ILLUSSMO,

AFTER the closing up of my other, there came a flying report of my Lord Treasurer's down coming, which I could not believe, until the next day, that I received yours, bearing date 4th February, whereby I found he had got his dispatch; and that same day, being Monday last, we learned for certain that he touched at Edinburgh upon Wednesday the 14th, from whence he went to Stirling, where he was to declare his Majesty's commandments at the council-table upon Tuesday last, being the 20th of this instant; what they are, or what effect they will work, we do not know, nor cannot guess as yet; but as for himself, it appears he hath both good friends above and strength of favour; for, to my knowledge, those who know him best in this part did fear deadly that he should not have come so fairly off. It is thought the Justice-Clerk,* whom he took along with him, hath not done him the worst offices; you may imagine how. It is given out that his Lordship hath undertaken to settle all these turmoils, to the quiet and contentment of all parties; but whether he will be

* Hamilton of Orbiston.

able to perform the ſame, to the reparation of his Majeſty's honour, in all points, to the eye of the world, *dubitat Auguſtinus*. Indeed it is ſuppoſed, that the now moſt deſolate city of Edinburgh ſhall feel the firſt brunt of his Majeſty's indignation; fourteen of the principal potentates ſtaid there all this while bygone, until his down coming; and whereas their Provoſt attempted, by a political trick to break that combination betwixt the body of the town and them, what vile indignities they threatened him withal therefore, I will forbear to ſpecify, becauſe the circumſtances are tedious, and I make no queſtion but you have heard ſomething thereof already. Marry, it is moſt like that intended contention of theirs ſhall be daſht and diſſipated by him; for men do think his Lordſhip will be better adviſed nor [than] to give them another act under his hand, as he did in the beginning of winter laſt, to be their warrant to that effect; an act, which if it had been duly notified unto, and well ſcanned by his Majeſty, it is moſt like, with reverence of his great friends be it thought, that he ſhould not have made ſo fair a retreat. The Biſhops were gone to Stirling, and attending his Majeſty's ſervice very devoutly, before he came; but it is thought their late choſen champion is fair to beſh— the barraſs * again, and that complot

* Part of a child's ſwaddling cloaths ſo termed in the Scottiſh language. I do not underſtand the reſt of the ſentence, which is proverbial.

likely to be ſmothered in the loode, and worried in the hoſe, as being incompatible with this man's perſeverant grandeur and proſperity. What further I can learn hereanent, [concerning this] I will make bold to acquaint you withal, as occaſion offers, thereby intending only to ſatisfy your curioſity, as one who otherwiſe means not to intermeddle with theſe jars, being perſuaded your greateſt ambition, for the preſent, is only to effectuate your own private affairs; the happy iſſue whereof ſhall ever be among the chiefeſt of his worldly wiſhes, who ſhall ever continue,

*Signior mio,*

*di voſtra Signoria l'humillimo ſervitore,*

JOAN. DE MARIA.

From whence I writ the former,
23d February, 1638.

# J. DE MARIA

[A feigned name]

TO

# A PERSON UNKNOWN.

MONSEIGNEUR,

YOUR worthy friend *Monſieur L'Eveſque* paſt by here in ſuch haſte as I had not leiſure to kiſs his hands, and tender my ſervice to him by mouth, much leſs unto you by writing; and verily he had reaſon, not only conſidering how requiſite we imagine his preſence was above with you, but alſo, that beſide the dangers he paſt before he arrived in theſe parts, what plots were inſtantly laid here to interrupt him, which might be cleared by no ſmall probability, if either he, or they, or his maſter (whoſe honour it concerns moſt) were curious to put the ſame to trial. As for the principal plotter we are now rid of him at laſt; I know not whether you would have been better pleaſed to have been rid of him ſooner, or that he had lived longer. At that very time when he paſſed by here, they were at the very heat of the conglutination of their leagues and bands; and he would acquaint you by tongue with ſuch particulars as were imparted unto him concerning their demeanour in this country; for I ſuppoſe you got not much written unto you. You may remember I was not much deceived in my conjecture concerning the

fruits of their convention in March laſt; of two principal points which I imagined, to wit, the renewing of their petition, and entering in a confederation among themſelves. The firſt was concluded upon, and my Lord Napier was the man deſigned for the preſenting thereof, who finding the ſame too hot (as we underſtand) for his fingers, and none elſe willing to undergo that charge, they changed their copy, and contented themſelves to preſent their condolances to the Triumviri, I mean theſe three grandees of our nation, who are thought to have the principal rule of his Majeſty's eares, who, (without offence be it written) are ſuppoſed, by many and good ſubjects, to tender more the ſafety of their friends, followers, and favourites in this kingdom, nor [than] they do their maſter's honour, which is now, in a manner, at the bar of fame, both at home and abroad) and are ſuſpected to be more prone to feed theſe mens private follies and fancies, tending, with the diſgrace and ruin of our Prelates, to the overthrow of all his father's and his own royal deſigns, nor [than] to ſecond the projects of a maſter to whom they have ſo ſupereminent an obligation. I pray God in this we may be deceived, but the ſhrewd rumours of the behaviour of the ſecond greateſt make many men very doubtful. As for this general bond of ours, now called *the Covenant*, as I writ to you in my laſt, his Majeſty needs not dream of any other means to undo the ſame than what I writ then, viz. *Gordio nodo enſis Alexandrinus.* In

the mean time, this long boggling and irreſolution (for ſo people do take it) makes many doubtful whether he be diſpoſed to break the ſame, and reſent the wrong which is done him thereby in a true degree or not, which is the cauſe that a thouſand and a thouſand are come in within this month, and ſubſcribed the ſame, who, otherways, had undoubtedly ſtood out. If you ſaw under what terrible maledictions they bind themſelves to the performance of the tenor thereof you would admire, which, if it had not been a little bill of ſome four ſheets of paper, you ſhould have been witneſs to it yourſelf, for I thought to have ſent it up with theſe preſents; and if you knew what odd, uncouth, inſolent, and ridiculous courſes they uſe to draw in ſilly ignorant fools, fearful faſards, women and boys, I can hardly ſay whether it would afford his Majeſty more occaſion of laughter or anger. The paſſages in this country would take up as much bounds as the bond above-written; ſo that *ex ungue leonem;* you may judge, this being among the evil beſt, the reſt would require a juſt hiſtorical volume. You could not have chuſed but laugh to have ſeen pipers and candle-makers in our town committed to the town-jail, by our zealous Mr. Mayor; and herdmen and hiremen laid in the ſtocks, up and down the country, and all for refuſing to put their hand to the pen, as a thouſand have done, who cannot write indeed; and yet you would have laughed better, to have ſeen the wives in Edinburgh, (if, *permiſſu ſuperiorum*, you might have been preſent thereat) ſo many of them as could

not ſubſcribe (for ſuch as could, have done it orderly indeed at a ſermon on Sunday was a fortnight) hold all up their hands when *the Covenant* (for ſo they called it) was read, as ſoldiers do when they paſs muſter. In the Weſt Country they will give no paſſenger either meat, drink, or lodging, for his money, until he firſt give them aſſurance that he is a member of this unchriſtian Covenant. You will not believe what ſums they raiſe, by way of contribution, for maintenance of their commiſſioners, clerks, poſtilions, and other members of ſtate, and yet they are not at the height of their levies; for we think verily their hooking in of women, boys, aged and impotent perſons, is not only to fright his Majeſty, and all their adverſaries, with the opinion of an invincible and incredible multitude; as alſo, thereby to induce thoſe who yet are ſomewhat averſe to join with them, but likewiſe to cottiſe and ſtent them in their goods, who otherwiſe, when matters come to the upſhot, are not able to do great perſonal ſervice. This laſt week hath been the buſieſt of all others among them; and they have told theſe who have ſtood out (and that by way of threatning) that perhaps hereafter, when they would come in upon their knees, it is a queſtion if they will get quarters; and divers of them ſtick not to ſpeak it out, that they are as well friendſted in England as the King himſelf, albeit we do verily think theſe are but their accuſtomed brags: for I am verily perſuaded, except it be ſome private fanatical Puritans, if the braver ſort of the malecontents in his Majeſty's other do-

minions were rightly informed of their ſenſeleſs inſolent fopperies, they would, for very ſhame, diſdain to have any correſpondence with ſuch giddy-headed gowks.* This Wedneſday next, the 18th of this inſtant, is the day appointed for the gathering of the commiſſioners over the whole kingdom, to meet at Edinburgh, and give in their muſter-rolls, which are of two ſorts, to wit, both of theſe who have ſubſcribed the Covenant, and thoſe who have not. You may judge whether we of the latter ſort are in *a good* taking, when an inſolent clavering [tatling] puppy, whoſe wife is a ſiſter of our ſheriff's (whoſe deportments, for many reſpects, I regrete moſt of any man's in this country) and who qualifies himſelf as his joint-commiſſioner for this ſhire, dared be ſo pert as to come down to our church, and there, ſeeing how few were like to concur with them, ſay, that he deſired but the names of thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe, with a note of their worths in means or otherways, and let them alone to take order with them. Theſe, and divers other of their arrogant frumps, had not been ſo eaſily digeſted by the hearers, if they had been well aſſured that the King, whom all men counts moſt intereſted in the buſineſs, were reſolute to take his own part. And I muſt tell you, *en paſſant*, that my Lord Balmerino's buſineſs is very much inſtanced even now, and the ſmall thanks which thoſe got who were moſt forward againſt him, and the light animadverſion of his miſdemea-

* Properly a cuckow, uſed for a ſilly fellow.

nour makes his conſorts now more bold, and many, otherwiſe well-affected to the King, more cold. But to come back to his Majeſty's intereſt in this buſineſs; I am ſure he cannot be inſenſible how much it concerns him to carry this buſineſs *à haut luict*, as a brave Prince ſhould, when matters come to ſuch an extremity, as a care whereupon depends not only the keeping of this unhappy kingdom, but both the other two, who will not fail to beſtir themſelves, when they ſee ſuch beggarly ſnakes dare put out their horns; beſides (that which a generous prince ſhould prize moſt) the hazard of his reputation all Europe over. He needs not think to carry matters any length by proclamations; but if, inſtead of theſe three or four which were ſent down in winter and about Shrove-tide laſt, he had ſent down as many of his good ſhips, this matter had been at an end or now, without ſtriking a ſtroke; but now what remedy, for at the beſt cheap, *expedit aliquos mori pro populo, aut aliter univerſa gens peribit*. He is wiſe enough to diſcern who they are that have engaged him in thoſe tempeſtuous turmoils; and there are now able men enough gone up to him, who can paint all parties in their true colours. As for our Treaſurer, and the grand M^c^Allan O More, Prince Major of Argalouſia,* moſt good ſubjects hope, that if they be entertained according to their deſerts, they will not ſee Scotland for a year next to come, or if they do, that it ſhall be to paſs their time in one of his Ma-

* The Earl, afterwards Marquis of Argyle.

jeſty's beſt-built houſes; a courſe which the holy brotherhood of Edinburgh are very doubtful of concerning the latter, and therefore prays for his ſafe return at any rate. But becauſe I have pricked a note too high in this ſubject already, here I will ſtop; the end of this ſide (which I thought ſhould have remained blank when I began the other) putting me in mind to make an end of this tedious rabble, for the defects whereof, as being written *raptim*, in great haſte, I muſt implore your pardon. And ſo, with the remembrance of my beſt wiſhes for the good ſucceſs of all good intentions which concerns either you or yours, *je vous baiſe les mains, en demeurant tousjours de même façon,*

*Monſeigneur,*
*vôtre très humble,*
*et très affectionné ſerviteur,*
JEAN DE MARIA.

None of the two which were ſent up laſt unto you are as yet come down, whereat we wonder not a little, eſpecially of the Barons ſtay. I cannot tell whether we, that have the honour to be counted your friends, long more to ſee you, or hear from you, or thoſe who ought to have the honour to be accounted his Majeſty's good ſubjects do long to know his reſolutions anent theſe premiſes.

*À votre Maiſon, ce 16me Avril,*
1638.

# JO. DE MARIA

[A feigned name]

TO

# A PERSON UNKNOWN.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I RECEIVED your laſt of the 21ſt upon Saturday laſt, being the laſt day of the laſt month, which gave an unexpected period (or rather truce) unto our troubleſome treaty. We ſuppoſe this *relâche* will not be very durable; and, indeed, moſt men regard it but as a breathing ſpace by mutual conſent of both ſides. What paſt ſince (and a little before) my Lord Commiſſioner's * down-coming until that time, if you know not fully, which I cannot believe but you do, aſk at *Vox Populi*, who hath imparted his mind more freely to a friend in a corner, nor [than] I thought fitting to do to you, who, if your pleaſure and leiſure think it worthy the peruſal, will impart the ſame unto you. I know your friends have acquainted you thoroughly how matters go in theſe parts, and how we are ſlandered with a counter-covenant; and what real preparation our ſurly and ſupercilious adverſaries are making to diſſipate our imaginary conjunction, eſpecially our domineering Dictator, who hath made a magazine, or rather arſenal, of pikes, halberts,

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* The Marquis of Hamilton.

muſkets, with powder and bullet by the boll † in his own town, and for his own followers, and all the great men of the country, ſometime our neighbours, but now his aſſociates and part-fellows, are doing the like; how unable (I mean for lack of the like proviſion) we are to reſiſt the juſtly feared fury of theſe brutiſh bedlamites, you may judge, and to recover any thing within the country it is impoſſible, neither without, except where you are for the preſent; I know your friends have ſignified ſo much unto you, with their opinion which way it were beſt to addreſs the ſame hither, which I judge they would adviſe you to ſend weſtward to the ſea-port next to his Majeſty's houſe whereof you have the charge; ‡ yet I think the ſhorter and ſurer cut were eaſtward to Newcaſtle, and from thence, over land, to his Majeſty's own caſtle of Carliſle, where people might be ſerved *pour argent comptant;* yet *ambo* is good Latin; which yet is to be rejected as a wild and idle project, unleſs his Majeſty be fully reſolved to vindicate his honour (for the preſent miſerably eclipſed) from the contempt and calumnies of all his Chriſtian neighbours, and unchriſtian ſubjects. I doubt not but you will get an inkling of his princely

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† I am not ſure as to this word; it ſeems liker *belly*, which, however is unintelligible.

‡ This *ſea-port* is probably Greenock, and his *Majeſty's houſe*, Dunbarton-caſtle; upon that ſuppoſition, this letter is addreſſed to the Duke of Lennox.

intentions, and accordingly acquaint your poor friends what they may expect, or how they ſhall behave themſelves. As for the hunting nags you write of, I am in good hopes to fit myſelf, though not ſo well as need were, but except the match hold the charge were very unneceſſary; for which cauſe one and all of us look for a watch-word very ſhortly. In expectation whereof, with the continuance of my beſt wiſhes for the welfare of your perſon, and thoſe who are nigheſt unto you, and the happy ſucceſs of your affairs, *je vous baiſe les mains, demeurant au reſte,*

*Monſeigneur,*

*votre très humble,*

*et très affectionné ſerviteur,*

JO. DE MARIA.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I PUT you in mind of another poſtſcript in my laſt, how there is a noble and an able young gentleman, whoſe being ſhould be in the uppermoſt end of this ſhire, (his father is he who promiſed to putrify *votre chere moitié*) whoſe fidelity and affection towards his Majeſty's ſervice is, at this time, ſo much the more conſpicuous, becauſe there is none of note in the country where he lives, who have not bowed their knees to this Covenant of Baal, except himſelf and his uncle (who, you know, is of my neareſt friends) and none nor they in greater danger, both of their perſons and eſtates, if things

fall foul: for the young man, all his friends (except my friend his uncle) have left him ſticking in the briers this laſt term, thereby thinking either to ruin him, or force him to renounce his allegiance; and that which incenſed them moſt againſt him was, becauſe he ſhewed himſelf more than ordinarily ſtout in all occurrents where ſuch matters came in head, as ſome of your own ſpecial friends can teſtify, how, without being put to it, he poſtponed his nigheſt alliance, to ſide with ſome that concerns you; moreover, he made all his country people renounce the Covenant, in deſpight of their miniſters and neighbours, who had induced them to it, and that by only aſſuring them how it was againſt the King's authority, wherein he opened a way for others to do the like, if they had been alike loyally diſpoſed; his demeanour, therefore, in that kind, deſerves to be ſpecially taken notice of; and whereas meaner perſons are thanked mediately, one of his quality deſerves particular thanks immediately, and that by a particular letter from his Majeſty, to encourage him to perſevere as he hath begun, and to give aſſurance that he ſhall find he hath not made a bad exchange in loſing the affection of his friends for his Majeſty's ſervice. I could wiſh you could endear him by the procurement hereof, as alſo to inſert him in your commiſſion, and get him graced with what other public employment one of his parts can be capable of; for you may paſs your word both for his fidelity and ability to diſcharge what he undertakes, as I dare do mine for his real affection and

requital of thankful offices towards yourself, and for his uncle likewise; whom once again recommending loyally to your good remembrance, especially the nephew, I most humbly take my leave

From your House and mine,
the 6th of July, 1638.

I could wish, in case matters came to actual contestation, that you purchased a particular to take our Dictator, and his new planted prophet, by the neck, *brevi manu*, and that upon the narrative which I insert in my last.

# MR. DAVID MITCHELL,

## ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH,*

TO

## DR. JOHN LESLY, BISHOP OF RAPHOE. †

MY LORD,

THIS is the firſt occaſion I have found to anſwer your laſt kind letters. I can do no more but humbly thank your Lordſhip for the ſincere pro-

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* Depoſed by the General Aſſembly 1638. According to Mr. Robert Baillie's MS. journal, it was proved, that he had long grieved the whole land with the doctrine of Arminianiſm in all its heads; that he had profeſſed ſeveral points of Popery; and had declined the General Aſſembly, which was, of itſelf, held a ſufficient cauſe for deprivation. In ſpeaking of Mr. Mitchell, the Moderator, Mr. Alexander Henderſon, obſerved, " That there were two ſorts of Ar-" minianiſm; one, that troubled the churches in the Low " Countries, which was nothing elſe but the way of Socini-" aniſm, and *Socinianiſmus inchoatus eſt Arminianiſmus* " *conſociatus*. —Another ſort of Arminianiſm maintained " by ſome in England and Scotland, which pointeth to Po-" pery, and is *inchoatus Papiſmus*." — Mr. Mitchell was conſecrated Biſhop of Aberdeen in 1662, and died in the following year. *Keith's Catalogue of Scots Biſhops.* page 79.

† Dr. John Leſly, Biſhop of the Iſles in 1628, tranſlated to the ſee of Raphoe in 1633; he died 1671, aged 100 and

fers of your undeſerved kindneſs. Truly it is like enough I ſhall be brought to that neceſſity to leave my charge here, and then there is no man to whom I will be more willing to be beholden. It would make any man's ears to tingle to hear what a pitiful plague this church and kingdom are in.

The greater part of the kingdom have ſubſcribed, and the reſt are daily ſubſcribing, a covenant. It is the oath of the King's houſe 1580, with ſtrange additions, a mutual combination for reſiſtance of all novations in religion, doctrine, and diſcipline, and rites of worſhip that have been brought in ſince that time; ſo as if the leaſt of the ſubſcribers be touched, and there be ſome of them not ten years of age, and ſome not worth two pence, that all ſhall concur for their defence, and for the expulſion of all Papiſts and adverſaries (that is all that will not ſubſcribe) out of the church and kingdom, according to the laws, whereof an hundred are cited in the Charta. This goes on apace. The true paſtors are brought into Edinburgh, to cry out againſt us wolves; and they, with our brethren here, Mr. Andrew Ramſay, Mr. Henry Rollock, and your whilome friend the Principal,† (crying out that they are neither good

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upwards. "His ſecond ſon was the *renowned* Charles "Leſly, who has made his name famous by the many cu- "rious books with which he has gratified the public after "the 1688." *Keith's Catalogue of Scots Biſhops.* p. 177.

† Mr. John Adamſon, Principal of the College of Edinburgh.

Chriſtians nor good ſubjects that do not ſubſcribe, nay, nor in covenant with God) have made us ſo odious, that we dare not go on the ſtreets. I have been dogged by ſome gentlemen, and followed with many mumbled threatnings behind my back, and then when in ſtairs, ſwords drawn, and "if they "had the Papiſt villain, oh!"

Yet I thank God, I am living to ſerve God, and the King, and the church, and your Lordſhip, Your Chief * is chief in this buſineſs. There is nothing expected here but civil war. There is no meeting of council; the Chancellor may not with ſafety attend it, nor any Biſhop; the very name is more odious among old and young than the devil's. Galloway takes ſhelter under the Treaſurer's wings; he draws him out to known danger, and then makes a ſhew of protection. Roſs keeps at home ſtill, and keeps up the ſervice in his cathedral, but I fear he ſhall not be able long. What was told your Lordſhip of his diſclaiming the Book was moſt falſe; Dun and he never ſpoke together. Concerning the other point of your poſtſcript, that the Book is a tranſcript of King Edward's Book, that is not true neither. I know my Lord of Roſs ſent a copy of ours to your Lordſhip, and the other you may have and compare them. They

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* *Your Chief*, Leſly, Earl of Rothes. *Chancellor*, Spotiſwood, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews. *Galloway*, Sydeſerf, Biſhop of Galloway. *Treaſurer*, Earl of Traquair. *Roſs*, Maxwell, Biſhop of Roſs. *Dun*, *q.* if Erskine of Dun.

are ſomewhat like in the communion, and great need there was to return to it *propter Sacramentarios*; but now, when all ſhall be diſcharged, Service-book, Canons, and High Commiſſion, they will not reſt there, there is ſome other deſign in their hearts.

There are ſtill here 500 commiſſioners of the ſtates; they relieve one another by courſe, as Caſtor and Pollux went to hell; they ſit daily and make new laws; their proteſtations and decrees begin thus, "We Noblemen, Barons and Gentle-"men, Burgeſſes, Miniſters, and Commons;" they depoſe Moderators of Preſbyteries, and chuſe new. Mr. Matthew Wemyſs * ſubſcribed on Friday, preached for the Covenant on Sunday, and diſcharged the organ. I have neither more time nor paper. God ſend this church peace, preſerve yours, and ſend you better news next. So wiſheth

Your Lordſhip's

humble ſervant,

D A. MITCHELL.

Edinburgh, 19th March,
1638.

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* Miniſter of the Canongate, Edinburgh. Lord Rothes thus writes to Wariſton, "Let me know if *the whole Ca-*"*nongate* have ſubſcribed, with their Miniſter Mr. Mat-"thew Wemyſs." 18th March, 1638. *Advocates Library.*

# LETTER FROM A PERSON IN ENGLAND TO TWO CONFIDENTS IN SCOTLAND.*

11th July, 1638.

MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I NOW ſend by a certain hand, therefore in a more familiar way. I have written to you ſeveral times, and ſent my letters to Mr. Tho. Livingſtone, who, I know, put them in the moſt probable way of ſafe conveyance; yet I fear they have not come ſafely to your hands, the rather becauſe I received no word of anſwer from out of your kingdom ſince my coming hither, but chiefly becauſe I hear the poſts are waylaid, and all letters taken from them, and brought to Secretary Cooke, thoſe letters that both go downward, and thoſe alſo which come upward; therefore I ſhall not, neither do you, ſend by that way hereafter; and pray tell this much to Mr. Borthwick.

The King communicated not a word of the

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* The Editor can form no conjecture by whom this very curious letter was written, nor determine with any certainty to whom it was addreſſed. The manner of ſpelling in the original is plainly Scottiſh, and yet there are ſeveral expreſſions which ſeem to point at its being written by an Engliſhman, an inhabitant of Ireland. It is poſſible, that, for greater ſecurity, the pen of a Scotſman may have been employed.

Scots buſineſs untill the firſt day of this month to any of the Council, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury excepted, with whom he hath adviſed hitherunto; and when the King imparted it to the Council, it was but very ſuperficially, referring them to the Marquis † his return hither, which hath been confidently expected theſe ſix or ſeven days paſt. You know the reaſons of his ſtay, but we fear here ſome of their nobility do faint in their reſolution, and are not firmly united, which the Marquis makes uſe of to work a diviſion, if poſſibly may be. It is ſaid the Earl of Caſſillis, Lord Loudoun, Lord Lindſay, and ſeveral others, have avowed the King's offers by the Marquis to be ſo fair, that they were to be condemned, ſhould they refuſe to entertain them; and that theſe Lords have made a ſeparation from the reſt, and gotten a grand party with themſelves, it is reported by ſome of credit, for what end (if not true) I imagine not. You muſt be wary of truſting a Lord amongſt you, called the Lord Rae, he who accuſed the Marquis of treaſon long ſince. I hear it ſecretly that although he have ſubſcribed and ſworn the Covenant, yet he hath declared, by letters to the King, he doth it only to be the better enabled to do the King ſervice, by ſuch knowledge of reſolutions as (being one of their ſelves) he may be more fully inſtructed in; he will be a Judas as far as he can. There be preparations for 20,000 men, of ſwords, guns, &c. 40 pieces of ordnance, and 40 carria-

† Marquis of Hamilton.

ges. The Earl Marſhal of England is to go in to the north, there to ſecure thoſe parts, where Berwick, Carliſle, and Newcaſtle are to be fortified; but it is thought they will not get 200 men for their 20,000 arms in this cauſe. You will not believe how heartily the cauſe is nigh to ſucceed amongſt the nobility, gentry, and commonalty. The nobility have ſome of them laboured to get a ſociety who might petition the King for removal of ſuch grievances as they labour under, but there cannot be gotten above two of the nobility that will join in this buſineſs; you may gueſs who they are; ſo as they conceive it but folly of themſelves to *puſh*, whereas the reſt have declared they will not join in it; but, however, they are reſolved not to abide here, being indeed under ſuch a light as muſt ſuffer extinguiſhment if it abide in this ſo dampiſh an air. I hear it the unanimous conſent of many leading perſons, that they hope to find an America in Scotland; and all deſigns foreign receive a ſtoppage until it be ſeen wherein yours will determine. If a liberty can be had with you, there will be hardly found receipt for thoſe who will thruſt themſelves amongſt you, ſuch who are men of eminent rank, and great eſtates, and thoſe who, I dare ſay, will ſpend, a few of them, in the diſcharge of their ordinary affairs, more money yearly nor is now to be ſpared in the kingdom; I could number forty or fifty of them that will allot 100,000l. yearly for their expence; many there be of the like ſort I know not of, but ſuch as I have ſpoken with have often wiſhed, that you be ſure in the

cloſe of your agreement, that you make petition, that there may be free traffic preſerved betwixt yourſelves and the other ſubjects of the King's dominions; you to come, drive trade, cohabit with them, and they to do the like with you, without any hinderance, as ſubjects of the ſame government, and members of the ſame body ought to do. You, by this manner, will get their eſtates and perſons amongſt you, and they will take none of your goſpel away although they communicate with you. Pray conſider of this, it is of much concernment both to yourſelves and others here, who cannot expect, from any appearance of the leaſt motion thitherward, that there is hope of ſo much as any relaxation of the courſe begun, and unhappily brought forward in theſe parts. That you may taſte a little of our condition, I have ſent you two of your own Scots Bibles, your New Teſtament only, wherein they have placed ſuch abominable pictures, that horrible impiety ſtares through them; theſe come forth by public authority; do you ſhow them to ſuch as you think meet; I ſend to each of you one of them. Our Deputy hath made large overtures to the King, ſome ſay of 16,000 men, from Ireland; but I know not how he will be able to make that good, for that kingdom is not on ſuch quiet terms; however he hath gotten his preſent condition of a favourable diſpatch by the tender of his ſervice. He was in ſome danger before concerning the Chancellor. There be a proportion of arms ſent into Ireland. The Earl of Antrim was recommended by the Marquis to the King, as

a man that might contribute largely to his Prince in this buſineſs; he is preſented to the King as having great power in Ireland, and the leading of a ſtrong and numerous ſept of the McDonells, which now ſerve under the Lord of Lorn. I am certified he takes with the employment, and, as a vizor to cover his intent this way, he very ſhortly carries his Dutcheſs * into Ireland with him, and —— reſolves to ——. Now I ſuppoſe his main deſign is to make what party he can there, and in the Highlands of Argyle. Wiſe men here do think that the King is reſolved to hold you in all fair and promiſing ways of treaty, until he hath ſufficiently fitted himſelf, by proviſions both of arms and men, and then you may look for no other language but what comes from the mouth of the cannon; be aſſured, if the King can bring it to this paſs, he will, but moſt likely he will not be able; yet how far rewards, penſions, and the like, may prevail, either to ſeparate you amongſt yourſelves, or otherways to hire a foreigner to come upon you (if his domeſtic ſubjects will not be drawn to it) it is hard to ſay; good wiſdom, therefore, to be at a point quickly, whilſt God preſerves union amongſt you.

Here are either 10 or 12 flat-bottomed boats to land men withal, that be made ready; a number of ſhot for ordnance newly caſt. But theſe

* He married the widow of the great Duke of Buckingham.

things are ſo publicly ordered, that it is thought they intend not to make uſe of them farder than to threaten you, as knowing their own weakneſs; but could they do more, I verily judge their wits are ſufficiently towards it.

Divers well-wiſhers of yours here are in much anxiety of thoughts how you will carry the buſineſs ſo as not to bring a ſort of blemiſh upon the cauſe, ſuch as your good friends the Biſhops have openly ſuggeſted already; which is, that you take occaſion only, by this quarrel of conſcience, to caſt off the yoke of government, and change the ſettled ſovereignty eſtabliſhed; I ſay, your friends are nonpluſed how you will either avoid a ſeen miſchief by forcing the King fortifying thoſe frontier towns; if you do nothing to prevent that act, you ſee an engine preparing for your own miſchief, and ſtand ſtill, and if you make any oppoſition (admit it be intentionally but for your own defence) that you ſecure thoſe towns, yet that will be deemed an act of hoſtility, and little leſs than rebellion; for their firſt thoughts will they ſeem to confirm, and alledge the next of theirs as a proof of it. God direct you, that the holy cauſe and profeſſion do not ſuffer under any carriage of yours, which hath been hitherto, to the amazement of enemies, carried in a way without all ſort of exception of the verieſt critic, and I hope ſhall ſo determine. That it may be ſo, I know ſome, I may ſay many, I think multitudes, are earneſt with the Lord for your furniture with wiſdom, Chriſtian reſolution, and unity; then, by all appear-

ance, you need not fear what man can do unto you. As more ſhall be diſcovered, and way made for the paſſage of it to you, I will not omit to certify you; deſiring alſo to hear from you; but direct your letters to Mr. Livingſton, and within let your letter to me have no ſuperſcription, only this mark (Π) and he will underſtand what to do with it. I pray ſend me ſix of your printed letters, which are cried about the ſtreets, with as many of the Covenant, and what other thing is lately come forth.

# A PERSON UNKNOWN TO WARISTON.

DEAR CHRISTIAN BROTHER, AND COURAGEOUS PROTESTANT;

UPON ſome rumour of the Prelate of St. Andrews his coming over the water, finding it altogether inconvenient, that he, or any of that kind, ſhould ſhew themſelves peaceably in public, ſome courſe was taken how he might be entertained in ſuch places as he ſhould come unto. We are now informed that he will not come, but that Brechin is in Edinburgh, or thereabout. It is the advice of your friends there, that, in a private way, ſome courſe may be taken for his terror and diſgrace, if he offer to ſhew himſelf publicly; think upon the beſt way, by the advice of your friends there. I fear that their public appearance at Glaſgow ſhall be prejudicial to our cauſe. We are going on to take order with his chief ſupporters here, Glaidſtaines, Scrymgeour, and Haliburton. So, wiſhing you both protection and direction from your Maſter, I continue your own,

whom you know,

26th October, 1638.* G.

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* Juſt about this time the Biſhops had been cited to *appear* before the General Aſſembly at Glaſgow. *Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.* p. 88.

# CERTAIN REMARKABLE PASSAGES IN THE LETTERS FROM MR. WILLIAM WILLIE* TO DR. BALCANQUHAL.

11th Dec. [1638.]

I AM certainly informed, by one that knows it well, that there is one Barnes, a merchant of Edinburgh, that has bought ſome 6000 muſkets of late out of Holland, which ſhip was ſtopped by the States, till afterwards, that the King of France his Legate did obtain that it might be ſent to a town in France, for his maſter's ſervice, and ſo, by this means, is come home here. It is ſtrange if his Majeſty of France, or any Prince, ſhould farther the arming of ſubjects againſt their Prince.———

26th Dec. [1638.] —— I find, by thoſe that know the grounds of the Nobility's proceedings, that the prime reaſon of the removal of Biſhops is the power they had in Parliament; eight of them being Lords of the Articles, who had the power to chuſe other eight of the Nobility whom they knew moſt addicted to his Majeſty, and theſe ſix-

* This Willie appears to have been a ſort of eccleſiaſtical ſpy, employed by Balcanquhal, the great confident of Charles I. in every thing relating to Scotland.

teen the reſt; ſo that all depended upon them, and they upon his Majeſty.*———

*Ibid.*—The next Lord's day is appointed in the moſt part of churches here to be a day of thanksgiving for the Aſſembly; a terrible day of trial for many miniſters, who are directed to profeſs joy, when there is nothing within but fear and ſorrow. To all the preachers I would aſſign, for that day, this text, Pſalm ii. "Rejoice with trembling;" for have of the firſt what they will, I am ſure they, and the moſt part of the country that have any underſtanding, want not the latter.

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* This is very rational and intelligible, and yet it ſeems to have eſcaped the obſervation of ſome eminent hiſtorians.

# WARISTON TO LORD JOHNSTON.*

MY NOBLE LORD,

——————THUS for the firſt part of your Lordſhip's letter; and for the laſt, truly I am glad to have thereby occaſion to write my mind freely to your Lordſhip, which, I truſt, you will take in good part, as from him that wiſhes your Lordſhip's perſon, and houſe, and name well, without any further proteſtation; and truly, I think I were both unfaithful to this great buſineſs, and to your Lordſhip, if I did not both advertiſe you, both of what I have heard, and alſo ſhow my own judgment anent that voyage your Lordſhip writes of; it was told me of, before your Lordſhip went out of the town, and I was deſigned to have demanded it; but when your Lordſhip told me of your voyage home, it prevented both my ſuſpicion and queſtion of the other. Your Lordſhip remembers I told your Lordſhip of my Lord Treaſurer's brags, as well of your Lordſhip as of my

* The firſt part of this letter relates to private buſineſs. This is printed from a copy, endorſed thus in Wariſton's hand, "Copy of my letter to my Lord Johnſton, 2d January, 1639, before his court voyage, for conſtancy in the cauſe."

Lord Home, when I ſaw you after Duns-law: thereafter, in your own chamber, your Lordſhip cleared yourſelf to me; but ever ſince, our frequent intelligence of my Lord Home's engagement to the King, which now he has confirmed by this his late voyage, your Lordſhip's great correſpondence with my Lord Home breeding a probability of your running together one way, in that, as in many other things; your great drineſs to the reſt of the nobility here; your rarity of meeting here with them, but eſpecially at their two laſt, being in Edinburgh; your inſtant ſhunning either to meet or meal with them, after frequent daily invitations from one nobleman or other: theſe, and ſuch like probabilities, have added ſome greater grounds of appearance of veriſimilitude in my Lord Treaſurer's brags. Whereas, when we learn from our friends in England, both in general, that the King's refuſal of our reaſonable demands proceeds from his confidence of diviſion among ourſelves at home, and particularly, from the aſſurance of the ſouth as well as of the north borders, whereby he thinks to draw the middle in a hoſe-net; which, we preſume, the King could not even imagine, without he were put in ſome hope of that or ſome others, whether with warrant or not; and alſo, that we knew therefrom the main thing kept the Treaſurer even now on his foot, and in the King's favour, was his aſſuring the King he had wrought great diviſions, and was able to work greater for effectuating his deſigns. Now, my noble Lord, albeit I believe not the concluſion will neceſſari-

ly flow from theſe conjectural premiſes bred in peoples minds, albeit never heard in the mouths, nor harboured in the breaſts, nor hatched in the brains, of any of your own quality here, for ought I know; yet I ſhould be moſt ſorry your Lordſhip, by this your voyage at this time, *after next L.** you ſhould add any further preſumption and likelihood thereto, as if there were a tryſt [appointment] kept, to be at Yule now, betwixt the noblemen of both ſouth and north borders, againſt the heart of the kingdom, eſpecially ſeeing none perceives any great intereſt, of any particular importance, concerning your Lordſhip's affairs, which may not delay till the religion and liberty of the whole were ſettled; and ſeeing all know, that, at this time, none will get good deed [benefit] of the King, till he firſt promiſes ſurely, abſolutely, and totally to be his in this quarrel; truly, neither is it God's honour, nor, on the other part, King Charles' honour, to have one to ſerve him *à demi*, as the Frenchman ſays, or by halves and parts; and ſeeing we know my Lord Dunfermling and Loudon [would] have been put to their particular oaths, if they had not been public commiſſioners; if you, being put to it, refuſe, you offend far more than if you had not gone up, and then you are in a needleſs hazard. If you take this oath, then you renounce the Covenant with God, you draw down his vengeance viſibly upon you, your houſe and your name, good fame, yourſelf, and your poſte-

* This is unintelligible.

rity, with that ſtigmatizing blot and blunder of a traitor to your religion, the kirk, the liberty and freedom of this kingdom; you will be infamous in all ſtories, and contemned both at home and abroad, whereof I am very confident you abhore the very thought worſe nor death. Miſtake not my forwarning you of theſe conſequences, as if I believed your Lordſhip would fall in them, for I proteſt, I am not capable, as yet, of ſuch an imagination; but you know my licence and liberty to be free, in this buſineſs, with all I love and reſpect; and therefore I would ſeriouſly, from the earneſt deſire of my heart to your welfare and good name, adviſe your Lordſhip not to make this voyage, in this way, after ſuch drineſs with the Lords, and ſuch ſuſpicions amongſt the people. But if really your Lordſhip's particular inforceth you, then rather do nobly, as my noble Lord of Montroſe * has done; who, having received a letter from the King himſelf to go up with diligence to his court, conveened ſome of the nobility, ſhewed unto them both his particular affairs, and the King's command, and that according to his covenant of following the common reſolution, and eſchewing all appearances of diviſive motion, nobly has reſolved to follow their counſel, and has gone home to his own houſe, and will not go to court at all. So, my Lord, I wiſh your Lordſhip, upon the public

* This encomium on the zeal and conſtancy of the Marquis of Montroſe is moſt remarkable.

letter which is ſent to you, to be here at the public meeting upon Mr. William Cuningham's anſwer, the 11th of this month, would come here, and follow the advice of your noble friends, who ſincerely will tell you, both what is fitteſt for God's work, and your Lordſhip's welfare. This is my advice; but if your Lordſhip will go away, truly I ſhall be ſorry for it; but I will both expect from your Lordſhip an anſwer hereunto more clear and ſpecial, whereby I may be the more aſſured myſelf of your Lordſhip's good intentions, and may be more enabled to ſatisfy the doubts, and anſwer the objections made by others againſt your voyage, likeas an true hearted Johnſton, and a true friend and ſervant to your Lordſhip and to the houſe of Johnſton, and, above all, as a faithful advocate for God's kirk, and agent for this great work of God in this land. I do faithfully counſel you, and really forwarn you, as in the preſence of the great God, before whom your Lordſhip and I will both anſwer, that, as you love your own ſoul, your name, your ſtate, your country and religion, you neither by word, oath, or writ, undertake either to aſſiſt the King in this his courſe againſt your fellow-covenanters, whom, by your ſolemn oath, you are obliged to maintain; or elſe to ly by, and not to aſſiſt them, in the defence of their religion and liberty, againſt foreign and inteſtine invaſion, which you are bound before God to do, and entered in; and [if] you do either by commiſſion or omiſſion (which are alike before God and in the Covenant) thus prejudice yourſelf, remember a

true and faithful, albeit a plain and out-ſpoken friend forwarned and fortold your Lordſhip, that Chriſt will be ſeen to cruſh and trample under his foot more viſibly thoſe that thus betray him, nor [than] theſe that ay have oppoſed him, eſpecially ſeeing that their deſertion gives courage, life, being, and rejuvation; and that you will find it ſo, in your own ſenſible experience, here and hereafter, when even this forwarning of you ſhall ſtand up in judgment betwixt you and me, as the diſcharge of my duty of a truſty friend, and as the aggravation of your conviction. My Lord, again let me ſay, be not offended with this my freedom on the one part, ſeeing I am really engaged by oft anſwering for you, as I will yet continue, till you break under, and ſo break my credit with them; ſo, on the other, let them not deceive you either with pretence of reaſon; for I, who am the weakeſt of the thouſands of Iſrael, offers me, upon my head, to juſtify, in writ or print, all our proceedings in Aſſembly and Parliament, from the principles of our late, our old acts of Parliament, from the records of Parliament, from all proceſſes of parliament, in all our hiſtorians, from the books of Council, Aſſembly, and Seſſion, which are all the beſt warrants of our actions in this kingdom, if either in writ or print they will ſet down their objections. Your Lordſhip knows I am no braggadocchio. Be confident of the truth of this, which I would not promiſe but out of knowledge; and ſo ſuffer them not to deceive you with any particular reaſon, which your Lordſhip, perhaps, can-

not anſwer, becauſe not ſo well verſed in the grounds of our proceedings; neither be commoved with other threats, for, as the Lord lives, he will through-out this work againſt all opponents. And albeit all the Lords of Fife, Lothian, and the Weſt would concur in defection with theſe in the North and the South, I make not queſtion but the great God, the patron of this work, will trample them down, and erect over their bellies the trophies of his victory. God has ſaid it, and he will perform it. Antichriſt ſhall fall, and Chriſt riſe; none ſhall hold the one up or the other down. It ſhall be ſeen, even it ſhall be ſeen in this world, that the Lord will fight for his people, and rather work miracles before he deſert them, and ſuffer his work to be deſtroyed. Neither let us be deceived with vain brags of Engliſh faces; we ſaw what they were before; they will not really ever be ſo great again; and albeit they were, took not God both heart and hand from them? Neither be deluded with their ſuggeſtions, that this nobleman will fall away, and that man will turn unto the King; that has been ay their policy, to draw the party himſelf away. In the mean time, let every one of us be ſure of himſelf, and warn and encourage one another, and God, who knit our hearts and our hands together, will be found to keep the knot he faſtened with his own hand. Neither be deceived with great hopes there, *non habent*, neither is this a time for giving. They may well love the treaſon, they will never love the traitor, but even in their own hearts they will abhore, unre-

ſpect, contemn, and condemn them; as, on the other part, I am perſuaded God will be ſeen ever even in this to perform his promiſe, *honorantes me honorabo*, and will build their houſes, who hazard themſelves and their houſe for the building of his houſe. Thus, my noble Lord, I fear I have wearied you; but, I dare ſay truly, this my freedom is the realeſt and greateſt teſtimony of my affection and reſpect to you that I could have ſhown, which I truſt God will bleſs, and you will ſo accept it. And after ſerious conſideration hereof, ſeek God's direction, and follow it; and write to me fully your mind, which I will expect, and ſhall ever *be*

Your Lordſhip's

humble ſervant,

and true, real, plain friend,

Edinburgh, 2d January,
1639.

# MR. WILLIAM COLVILL*

TO

# LORD BALMERINO.

MONDAY at *night* I received two letters, and, at the ſame *time*, *the ſecret articles*, from my Lord of Rothes; his Lordſhip deſired me to *peruſe* them, and conſider of them, which I did this morning, and to *treat thereof* with your Lordſhip. I was exceeding loth to cenſure the *ſtrain and ſtile thereof;* it may be your gifts are far beyond *mine own ſmall* and ruſted experience; yet, fearing miſconſtruc*tions*, I muſt tell your Lordſhip, and I hope my Lord of Lothian will ſay all I ſay, that the King of France's letter is not relevant, [proper] the ſtile conſtrained and not Laconic———— —— there be ſome faults both in the order and French. And attour, [beſides] when your *committee* gives me no place for articles expreſſing, a footman may do the like. The French themſelves do

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* This letter is miſerably torn and mutilated; but the curiouſneſs of the ſubject moved the editor to complete it by *conjecture* as far as he could. See *Biſhop Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, *P.* 160, 161. and *Lord Clarendon*, *B.* ii. *P.* 129, 130. It is probable that the draught made by Colvill is that which follows in this collection.

ever truſt a gentleman with a letter of credence or truſt, which I have drawn up; if my Lord Lothian or your Lordſhip like of it, let it *be copied with a good fair hand. Your Lordſhip* ſhall be confident that I ſhall neither add nor pair the articles your Lordſhip ſhall impart to me. For that other letter for the States of Holland, I find it paſſable, yet not altogether ſo ſweet * as I could have wiſhed; I have therefore altered it a little, becauſe there were in it both faults in the French and ſtrain of it. So, remitting them *both* to my Lord of Lothian and Mr. Robert Leighton's † *better* judgments and better experience, I moſt *humbly advertiſe* your Lordſhip touching the articles, ye would *conſider* fully on them, for they need not be ſubſcribed *by any*. The two letters, with as many hands as can be *procured* to them, need ſubſcription. So, if I muſt go, let me go with diligence. I deſire earneſtly to actuate on this ſtage, and on another, if buſineſs fall not out aright. What time your Lordſhip will appoint me to come for the diſpatch, I ſhall be ready, as ever, to honour and reſpect your Lordſhip's commandments. I can frame the articles in French in a moment; your Lordſhip ſhall only be pleaſed to add or pare what your Lord-

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* This word not certain; it may be *ſhort*.

† In all probability the perſon here meant is the celebrated Robert Leighton, afterwards Biſhop of Dunblane. Biſhop Burnet mentions his ſkill in the French language.

ſhip thinks fit. It is not my part to preſcribe, but to receive *orders willingly* and with fidelity; and ſhall ever *ſtudy to* approve myſelf,

My good Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt *dutiful,*

and moſt obedient ſervant,

WILLIAM *COLVILL.*

Cromy, this 30th of April,
1639.

# GENERAL ALEXANDER LESLIE

AND

# THE EARL OF ROTHES

TO

# THE FRENCH KING.

SIRE,

NON ſeulement la douceur de la paix nous porte à rechercher tous moyens de la conſerver, mais encore plus notre affection loyale envers le Roi notre ſouverain nous rend ſoigneux d'eſprouver tout ce qui pourra ſembler propre à detourner ſa Majeſté d'un ſi funeſte deſſein que de faire la guerre au pais de ſa naiſſance, et à ſes propres ſujets tant fideles et obeiſſants. C'eſt ce qui nous a perſuadé, Sire, d'envoyer ce gentilhomme vers votre Majeſté pour lui repreſenter l'etat de nos affaires, et la ſupplier très humblement d'employer (s'il lui plait) ſon interceſſion favorable envers notre Souverain, pour nous continuer la paix, que les ennemis de ſon etat et les notres l'excitent à tourner en guerre, laquelle nous menace à cette heure de bien pres, et nous oblige à notre defence autant juſte que neceſſaire, veu que nous ne cherchons qu'à jouir paiſiblement de notre religion et libertes, ſelons les loix, tant civiles qu'eccleſiaſtiques, de ce royaume, et ne ceſſons de ſupplier le Roi notre ſouveraigne, en toute humilité, pour cet effet. La conſideration de l'ancienne alliance, qui par tant de

ſiecles a duré inviolable entre la France et l'Ecoſſe, nous a donné l'hardieſſe à deſirer, Sire, l'aſſiſtance de votre interceſſion, et nous eſperons qu'elle pourra rapporter un ſucces conforme à ſon merite, et à la clemence de notre Souveraign; toutefois, Sire, l'honneur d'une action ſi genereuſe vous en demeurera, et à nous l'obligation d'être à toûjours

De votre Majeſté

les très humbles,

et très affectionnés ſerviteurs,

A. LESLIE. ROTHES.*

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* It is obvious that the purpoſe was to have this letter ſigned by all the leaders of the Covenanters, and that *this* copy was not ſent. A letter of the like tenor, with the neceſſary alterations, was prepared for the States General. *Advocates Library*. A. 6. 10. N°. 84. The ſubſcription of General Leſlie is ſo aukward and miſhapen, that it confirms the tradition of his being abſolutely illiterate. It is reported, that, once upon a march, paſſing by a houſe, he ſaid, *There is the houſe where I was taught to read. How, General*, ſaid one of his attendants, *I thought that you had never been taught to read. Pardon me*, replied he, *I got the length of the letter G.*

# INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COVENANTERS IN SCOTLAND TO THEIR MESSENGER TO THE FRENCH KING.

To repreſent the antient and ſtrait league between the two kingdoms of France and Scotland, often renewed, and ever inviolably kept for many hundred years, whereby both nations, upon the diſtreſs of the one, found the benefit of that mutual amity, by ready ſuccour and aſſiſtance of the other, which hath ever been crowned with ſucceſs, and acknowledged by interchange of national kindneſs, as the chronicles of both kingdoms, and divers public acts, extant in the records, can teſtify.

To ſhow that our intentions are no ways againſt monarchical government, but that we are moſt loyally diſpoſed towards our ſacred Sovereign, whoſe perſon and authority we will maintain with our lives and fortunes; but that all our deſires reaches no further than the preſervation of our religion and liberty of church and kingdom, eſtabliſhed by the laws and conſtitutions thereof. That the calumnies vented againſt us, by our enemies, for their own ends, make no impreſſion, becauſe they are moſt manifeſt untruths, maliciouſly forged to ſtir the envy and diſcontentment of neighbour princes, eſtates, and nations, againſt us; whereas

our whole thoughts, words, actions, and proceedings are moſt legal and loyal, as the bearer can particularly inſtruct and make clear at length. That ſeeing we have many times ſupplicated his Majeſty, and have not prevailed, therefore to intreat the King of France to intercede and mediate with our Sovereign to lay down his arms intended and raiſed againſt us, and to ſuffer this his antient and native kingdom to enjoy her religion and liberties, in peace and freedom, under his Majeſty's authority, albeit we be not diffident of God's aſſiſtance, whenever we ſhall be neceſſitated to our own defence, which is approved both by the law of God, nature, and nations.

To remember to ſhew the true ſtate of our buſineſs, and anſwer all objections yet laid to our charge out of the papers which are ſent with you. The true ſtate of the queſtion betwixt the King and this kirk and kingdom being, whether this ſhall continue a free kirk and kingdom, to be ruled by the laws of both; or now, in this abſence of our Sovereign from us, whether we ſhall, in effect, contrary to both, be enſlaved to the paſſions of a foreign Prelate, the Biſhop of Canterbury, and his ſupporters, whom he ſends here to govern by their will and pleaſure; and whether this antient kingdom ſhall be like a conquered province, as Ireland, under ſubjection of England, to receive what laws, civil or eccleſiaſtical, in religion or policy, they pleaſe to preſcribe; and whether upon our refuſal of this ſlavery, a foreign army threatens and invades us, whether the whole body of a kirk and

kingdom ſhall lay down their necks to the ſword, or their conſciences to the yoke, or caſt up a buckler of defence.

2. To remember the King of France, and thoſe who have greateſt credit of important affairs, of the old and faithful alliance entertained betwixt thoſe two nations of France and Scotland; as alſo of the good ſervice which of old our countrymen, in their ſtraits from the Engliſh, afforded to France, both by diverting their enemies at home, and by ſending ſuccours abroad; as alſo, of the great truſt the King of France has put in thoſe of our nation, even to the truſting the guard of his own perſon to their fidelity and courage; as alſo, of the maxims of policy to aſſiſt the weaker, to keep the balance the more even.

3. To deſire of them that they would, by his ambaſſador and letter (that before matters draw to a real rencounter) to interpoſe his mediation with our Sovereign for the leaving us to be ruled by our own laws of church and ſtate, in peace and quietneſs; and when matters draw to blood, then really to ſuccour and aſſiſt us, either by ſupply of money and arms at home, or by diverting our invaders abroad.

To offer the continuance of the antient league and faithful friendſhip of the body of this kingdom to the crown of France, in all civil quarrels againſt foreign princes.

If the wars of the Proteſtants in France be objected, to ſhew the difference betwixt them and us; 1. We being the whole body of the kingdom, and

they but a few. 2. Our religion and liberties being eſtabliſhed by the laws of kirk and kingdom. 3. Our King, in his coronation, and whole eſtates ſworn to the maintenance thereof. 4. Our defence thereof, againſt our King, allowed by the laws of kirk and kingdom, and practiſed by our predeceſſors in the ſame cauſe. 5. Our King's aſſiſting the Catholics may be a motive (which argument I do not allow) to France, in requital, to grant us the like.

To aſſure them, according to our remonſtrances, both of our loyalty to our King, and that of our conſtancy of our defence; eſpecially ſeeing now we are maſters of our inteſtine affairs, and of the ſtrengths of the kingdom, which we were neceſſitated, in ſuch extremity, to ſeize upon, as our remonſtrance ſheweth.

## FROM A PERSON UNKNOWN.*

WORTHY SIR,

ALTHOUGH you know me to be no intelligencer, yet I have a mind to write ſuch occurrences as I did meet with at Dunſe; but, hearing of a begun treaty of pacification, I ſuſpended my hand, till the concluſion ſhould furniſh me ſomewhat worthy your hearing. His Majeſty was pleaſed to receive our humble deſires, whereof I have ſent the copy, and after much agitation with our commiſſioners, in end, for anſwering our deſires, did reſolve upon this declaration, which I have alſo ſent. You may perhaps marvel, as many others have done, that our commiſſioners ſhould have accepted of a declaration which called the laſt Aſſembly *a pretended Aſſembly*, ſince we all, who were privy to the proceedings thereof, were as many witneſſes of the preſence of God there, in a meaſure more than ordinary; from the ſenſe whereof, many did ſeal the ſame with their hearts then, and ſince have ſigned it with their hands. But I have learned of our commiſſioners, that although his Majeſty did call it ſo, for his own ends, yet did he not oblige them to think ſo of it, neither would he bid them

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* Written about the end of June, 1639. It is probable that one Borthwick, miniſter at Leuchars, and a very active perſon among the Covenanters, is the writer of this letter; he is mentioned in this Collection, *p.* 39. *note* *.

diſapprove it; this they have expreſſed in write under the name of an *Information againſt miſtakings*, which I am ſorry ſhould be ſo many, both againſt his Majeſty's juſtice and goodneſs, and againſt the faithfulneſs of our commiſſioners. For clearing of both to your mind, I have ſent you the information, with ſome pieces of the conference (as I have inſtantly learned) which did paſs betwixt his Majeſty and the commiſſioners, before the nobles and counſellors of England, who reſt wholly ſatisfied with us, partly by the ſpeeches of our commiſſioners, and partly by the undeniable reality of our intentions and actions, which hath made them ſo to affect us and our cauſe, that we knew not whether to love them more, or to abhor our own diſnatured countrymen, who, all this time paſt, have been incendiaries againſt us. This ſhort relation, with the pieces above-mentioned, may be unto you inſtead of a full hiſtory of what is paſt.

You may poſſibly, by reaſon of your greater diſtance, expect from me ſome advice for what is afterward; in place whereof, I will tell you what I have learned to be the reſolution of the Covenanters concerning this enſuing aſſembly. You may believe what I write, from my acquaintance with the wiſeſt and graveſt among them, who conceive me to be a liker both of truth and peace. I perceive that they are far better pleaſed with his Majeſty's ſpeeches to our commiſſioners, than with the publiſhed declaration, and that our commiſſioners have much ado to perſuade the people and

ſoldiers to take the declaration in good part, which certainly had been met with a formal proteſtation, if ſome lovers of peace had not prevented it, by undertaking to ſpeak ſome words, after the publiſhing of the declaration, bearing humble and hearty thankſgiving to his Majeſty, and hopes that his Majeſty, by time, ſhould be moved to think better of the late aſſembly; likeas their reſolution to adhere unto that aſſembly, and to the ſaid information, to the utmoſt. It appears to me, and many wiſer than I am, that the heat of the people is not cooled by all their pains and charges for ſo long a time; and at this hour they are more animated againſt the Service-Book, and againſt the Prelates and their adherents, than at the firſt hour and time ſince. If the King's Majeſty will land Biſhops here, he muſt either root out all this generation of people, which will be found a hard taſk, ſince now they be reſolved, and ſo armed, and are aſſured that the Engliſh will not trouble them for the point of religion, or kirk-government by Biſhops, and which they themſelves rather bear as a burden on their backs, than entertain as a benefit; or elſe his Majeſty muſt leave this work to his ſon for the following generation. I may ſay the ſame of miniſters who are under the cenſures of the kirk, and have fled out of the country, they can have no hope of regreſs to their places. If there be others of the ſame ſpirit at home, their ambition may be now at an end; or if there be no end of it, but they muſt needs be Biſhops, they may reſolve to hunt their prey in another land, and to breathe in

another element than ours. 2. I perceive that his Majeſty hath his teſtimony, that he heareth reaſon patiently, and is ready to yield unto it, but that there be ſome about his chair, who continually labour to foment ſome bad principles of policy and church-goverment which they have planted in his mind; were thoſe removed from the King, and men put in their place who ſeek not themſelves (which were to us an univerſal happineſs) his Majeſty might be heartily loved, and highly honoured by his people, and they might promiſe to themſelves good days under his Majeſty's government; neither is any good man to deſpair. If his Majeſty ſhall honour the approaching Aſſembly with his perſonal preſence, all matters may go right, and be judged in equity, according to the conſtitutions of this kirk. It is obſerved here, that fugitive miniſters give out, that this truce of pacification tends to their advantage, and that we have parted thereby from our Aſſembly and Covenant. This is a new forgery and craft of theirs, to eſſay, if, by this mean, they can work diviſion amongſt us, and open a walk for themſelves to enter by; but they do but loſe their labour, and their craft is better known unto the better ſort than that they can be deceived by them. Although the laſt Wedneſday of July was appointed by the kirk to be the time of the holding of the Aſſembly, yet, ſince his Majeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to indict the Aſſembly againſt the 6th of Auguſt, it is thought convenient that the meeting be ſuſpended till the day deſigned by his Majeſty; concerning which,

leaſt any thing be done prejudicial to the liberty of the kirk, I hear that the preſbytery of Edinburgh is to advertiſe, according to the truſt committed to them by the laſt aſſembly, and the cuſtom of the kirk in former times.

Tho' we hear of many plots, policies, and promiſes, that are to be uſed by our adverſaries for chuſing of commiſſioners, or for corrupting of ſuch as ſhall be choſen; likeas a great manifeſto book is publiſhed in print againſt all our proceedings, and eſpecially againſt the laſt aſſembly, and many copies thereof ſpread through the country, to the great grief of his Majeſty's ſubjects, not ſo much as for any evil it can do, for it is known to be full of lies, not by two or three, but by more than two or three hundred witneſſes, who were members or attendants of the Aſſembly, but becauſe the author thereof hath made the King the author of ſo many untruths; yet we perceive that the Covenanters (a name which they are not aſhamed of, although their adverſaries have put it upon them*) reſolve to forbear all writing for chuſing of commiſſioners, wiſhing only that the wiſeſt, graveſt, and honeſt men be choſen, eſpecially ſuch as are beſt acquainted with the proceedings of the laſt Aſſembly, and are beſt affected to the reformation of religion, and true peace of the kirk. If any man come otherways diſpoſed, as he ſinneth againſt

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* This is a curious circumſtance; the name of *Covenanter* was not aſſumed, but impoſed.

his own ſoul, ſo is he like to loſe the reſpect both with the kirk, by whom he will be ſeen ſoon, and with the King himſelf, who, as I hear of ſuch as have been nigheſt unto his Majeſty, will hinder no modeſt man to ſpeak his mind freely, and is judicious to diſcern betwixt flatterers and honeſt men.

I hear all good men ſay, that if the miniſtry at this time prove faithful, and ſhall not ſuffer themſelves to be bribed, terrified, or deluded, this will prove the moſt comfortable Aſſembly that the kirk of Scotland hath ſeen; and therefore that it is neceſſary, that every man, who ſhall have voice there, labour, by all means, to put his own heart in order, and guard himſelf againſt temptations; and that all men, by humiliation and prayer more than ever before, draw near unto God. What ſin and ſhame will it be to the miniſtry to be the extinguiſhers of that light now, which hath endured ſo many blaſts, and for the ſhining whereof the whole country almoſt hath run the hazard of what is deareſt to them in this world. My deſire to give you ſatisfaction hath made me, beyond my own curioſity, to inform myſelf in particulars, and hath drawn me to this length, beyond my intention. You may make no leſs uſe of what you have heard of me, than if you had been the informer yourſelf, for I neither delight to write *uncertainties*, nor to omit duty, that may teſtify me to be, in truth,

Your affectionate friend
and ſervant.

# MR. ROBERT BURNET OF CRIMONT TO WARISTON.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND LOVING BROTHER,

I RECEIVED yours of the 29th of May. I thank you for your news; but, the Lord knows, I am ſorry to hear and read of the deſolation of that poor land; and I am certainly perſuaded ſome among you will render an heavy account for the ſame ſome day, who will rather have all the three kingdoms deſtroyed, and every one weltering in another's blood, before you get not your will. God forgive your bloody and cruel preachers, who have not known, nor will not know, the way of peace. You write to me of two men's being here, Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Sydeſerf, with whom I converſe; you are wrong informed, for one of them, the Biſhop of Roſs, he came never here; he is, as I am informed, at St. Denis in Wales, the rents whereof the King has given him for a time; for Mr. Sydeſerf, ſometime Biſhop of Galloway, (and who thinks he has right to it yet, if violence have not place) he came here five or ſix weeks ago, and by [without] my knowledge, by the addreſs of other Scotſmen, he took his chamber in the houſe where I am, and has been ſince my being here. I could have wiſhed he had not come here, as long as I had been here, rather to have ſatisfied other men's

ſcruples, whom I have no intention to offend, than my own; for the Lord is my witneſs, to whom I muſt anſwer at the laſt day, I think there was never a more unjuſt ſentence of excommunication than that which was pronounced againſt ſome of theſe Biſhops, and particularly againſt this man, ſince the creation of the world; and I am perſuaded, that theſe who did excommunicate him did rather excommunicate themſelves from God, than him; for I have known him theſe twenty-nine years, and I have never known any wickedneſs or unconſcientious dealing in him; and I know him to be an learneder and more conſcientious man (although I will not purge him of infirmities more than others) than any of thoſe who were upon his excommunication. And, alas, Brother! what would you be at, that now when you have beggared him, and chaſed him by club-law out of the country, would you have him reduced to deſpair, and will you exact that every man, yea againſt his conſcience, ſhall approve your deeds, how unjuſt ſoever, yea out of the country? If I had been excommunicated by you for not ſubſcribing your laſt Covenant, (which, the Lord knows, would have been that far from grieving my conſcience, that it would have been the greateſt comfort I could have had, that the Lord had done me that honour, and given me that conſtancy, to be ἀποσυνάγωγος * for his name, rather than I ſhould do againſt my conſcience, for fear of men, or any

* Put out from the congregation.

earthly thing) I would have thought them Turks and Pagans that would have refuſed to have converſed with me. And, as I wrote to you before, none of the miniſters of Paris would believe me, that you would or durſt excommunicate any for not ſubſcribing that Covenant; and the miniſters declared to him, that, notwithſtanding his excommunication, they would admit him to the communion, ſince his excommunication was not for any crime, but *par raiſon d'etat ſeulement;* but he communicates with the Engliſh. All Scots and Engliſh here, both of one party and other, reſpect him; and I aſſure you he defends the Proteſtant religion ſtoutly againſt Papiſts, and none of our Scots Papiſts dare meddle with him, after they had once eſſayed him. Be not too violent then, and do as you would be done to, for you know not how the world will turn yet. I ſhall not ſeek greater puniſhment of my greateſt enemies than to live as miſerable a life as he ſays he has lived, and I know I have lived, ſince this buſineſs began; and when they have eſſayed our life as long as we have done, I am not afraid but they be a little tamed, and better conditioned, and not ſo cruel hearted. It is a wanton life to make good fare upon other men's purſes, and lye in their wives boſom all night, and then urge other men, that may be as good, and acceptable to God, as themſelves, to be perſecuted. *Aliquid dandum humanitati, ſaltem charitati Chriſtianae;* for me, *Non ignarus mali miſeris ſuccurrere diſco.* And if you ſhould never be ſo violent to us, yea, if you ſhould bray us in a mortar, that will not

make us, againſt our conſcience, to be of your mind. I am to ſtay but five or ſix weeks here, and converſe little with him but *intra privatos parietes*, and I ſcandalize none by ſo doing, becauſe all converſe with him that are worth the converſing with. Thus ſtrictly ——— remembering my ſervice to your bed-fellow *, whoſe whole letters I have received every week, and am ſorry ſhe ſhould be ſo ——————— with them, I reſt

Your loving brother,

R. BURNET.

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* Eliſabeth, ſecond daughter of Sir Thomas Craig, ſo well known for his treatiſe *De Feudis*. The third daughter, Eliſabeth, was married to Mr. Robert Burnet, afterwards one of the Lords of Seſſion; ſhe was the mother of Biſhop Burnet; a woman very zealous for that cauſe which her huſband condemns in this pathetic letter. While her ſon Biſhop Burnet, was miniſter at Salton, he was ſeized with a violent fever, and, during the delirium attending his diſtemper, imagined that he was to entertain Sharp, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews; " Where ſhall we find a place for the Arch-" biſhop?" cried he. The old lady, forgetful of her ſon's condition, anſwered, " Do not let that diſturb you, my " dear, we will find a place for him—in the hotteſt corner " of hell!"

# JOHN LOCKHART

## TO

# THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I DID repreſent to his Majeſty the true cauſe of delaying the proroguing of the Parliament until ſuch time as his Majeſty be acquainted with the dangerous conſequences were like to ariſe from thence; ſhewing it did proceed from the earneſt deſire of the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy Council, and of many others, well-wiſhers to his Majeſty's ſervice. His Majeſty is diſpleaſed, that his directions, delivered to your Lordſhip in ſo poſitive a way, were not obeyed. Your friends here have done their beſt to extenuate and remove it, and in particular my Lord Carnwath, with all the ſollicitous care could be expected from a faithful friend.

I know your integrity in your Maſter's ſervice, and am aſſured his Majeſty's juſtice and goodneſs will not deſire to make any of his ſervants guilty, although he deſire to find out thoſe that be ſo.

The delay of adjourning the Parliament, and the word *unlawful* in the act aboliſhing Biſhops, are the great ſtumblings I meet with. I pray you bring all thoſe adminicles and helps that may juſtify your whole proceedings, and be prepared to give ſuch an account, if you ſhall be called to it, as may endure the ſtricteſt cenſure; for a reſolu-

tion grounded on innocence needs not fear calumnies, or accidents of fortune.

I know you will witneſs your readineſs in obeying his Majeſty's commands, as he has preſcribed, without looking to the effects they may produce, as it withdraws your eye from the orders now delivered. My Lord Carnwath did ſhew your laſt letters to his Majeſty, wherein you declare the meeting of Articles to be diſcontinued, until the return of his Majeſty's anſwer. This is ſo much to your advantage, differing nothing from this other prorogation to be made, but in the meaſure of time, as I beſeech you bring good evidences with you to make it appear, for they are like enough to deny the acknowledgement of any thing which they conceive may be prejudicial unto them.

I hear ſeveral make a doubt how his Majeſty's caſtles are furniſhed of victuals and ammunition, and that the cannon are not yet brought back to Edinburgh. But I am confident your care is and will be ſuch, as you ſhall not be juſtly charged with any neglect that belongs to your truſt. There is a ſpeech, that my Lord Etrick * complains he is not readily anſwered of thoſe neceſſaries he demands.

Of all your other directions, delivered to me, I ſhall give you an account at meeting. Be pleaſed

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* Patrick Ruthven, afterwards Earl of Brentford; he was at this time, 1639, Governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh.

to let me know, before your coming in to London, where I ſhall wait upon you, as

Your humble

and faithful ſervant,

J. LOCKHART.

Whitehall, 8th Nov.*

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* The year is not added; but it muſt be 1639, becauſe the writer ſpeaks of Traquair as Commiſſioner to the Parliament.

# THE LEADERS OF THE SCOTTISH ARMY, 1640.

## TO

## A PERSON UNKNOWN, IN FRANCE.

SIR,

THE ſtate of our affairs has conſtrained us to levy a numerous army for preſerving this kingdom from utter ruin. Hence it was that we could not permit Colonel Erſkine to tranſport his regiment [into France] laſt year, and the ſame cauſe ſtill obliges us to employ the Colonel at home, in the defence of his country; although he is exceedingly zealous in the public ſervice, yet he will not accept of any commiſſion from us, unleſs with the conſent of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and under the condition of being permitted to repair to France at whatever time he may be required.

We are well aſſured of your good-will and affection towards this country, whoſe intereſt is inſeparable from that of France. We have lately heard how much trouble you have taken in recommending our buſineſs to the King your maſter. We take this opportunity of teſtifying our gratitude for the friendſhip which you have already expreſſed, and which we are confident you will continue to expreſs; and, at the ſame time, we give you a freſh occaſion of conferring your favours upon us, by your repreſenting to the King, and to his Eminence, that the employment which we of-

fer to Colonel Erſkine will do no prejudice to the ſervice of his Majeſty, but, on the contrary, will greatly promote it. Peace is the aim of our deſires, and the wiſh of our ſouls; as ſoon as that is concluded, we ſhall demonſtrate, by our aſſiſting Colonel Erſkine in his levies, and by procuring good recruits for his Majeſty's ſervice, that true Scotſmen can never forget their antient alliances, and the common intereſt which unites them with France. And therefore, Sir, we again entreat you to repreſent what has been here ſaid, and the ſituation of Colonel Erſkine's affairs, to his Majeſty, and to his Eminence. We hope to obtain thoſe favours by your means, and, beſides the obligation which you will thereby confer on the Colonel, you will oblige us to remain,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervants,

A. LESLIE. ARGYLE. ROTHES. MAR. BALCARRAS. BALMERINO. SEAFORT.

From the Camp at Dunſe,
20th Auguſt, 1640.

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* Communicated by James Erſkine of Alva, Eſq; one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice in Scotland. As this letter is written in bad French, the editor judged it expedient to publiſh a tranſlation of it rather than the original.

# THE LORD CONWAY'S RELATION

## CONCERNING

# THE PASSAGES IN THE LATE NORTHERN EXPEDITION, 1640.*

THAT the cauſes of the loſſes in the North may be the better known, the Lord Conway thinks it fit to relate what the deſigns were in the firſt enterprizes, as far as did fall within his cognizance.

An army of 20,000 foot, and 2000 horſe, was deſigned for the borders of Scotland, near Berwick; and another of 10,000 foot, and 1500 horſe, was to be tranſported out of Ireland, into the town of Air in Scotland; alſo 10,000 foot and 500 horſe were to be ſent into the north of Scotland, and a fleet of ſhips, with ſome ſoldiers, were to go into the Frith.

Theſe forces were to be ready at a certain day, by the act of council of war; for which purpoſe there were divers ſums of money levied, and the

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* Moſt readers of Engliſh hiſtory content themſelves with the very imperfect account which Lord Clarendon gives of Lord Conway's conduct, B. ii. P. 141—145. It is but juſt to hear what this noble commander has urged in his own vindication; it is preſerved among the Harleian MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, vol. 1579.

monies in certain were counted, what they would do, and a ſtate accordingly made.

Why all this was not done (but that ſome troops of horſe, and divers regiments of foot, were not raiſed at all, and the reſt of the foot ſo late, that there was no time to exerciſe them) he knows not. Before the 2000 horſe were levied entirely, the Lord Conway was ſent to Newcaſtle, becauſe it was doubted that the Scots had a deſign upon the town. For the defence of it, 6000 of the train-bands of Yorkſhire were appointed to march thither; and, to that end, monies were advanced to every regiment; and —— of the regiments did march as far as Durham; then order came to ſend them back again. And thus the Lord Conway was left at Newcaſtle only with 500 horſe.

Upon view of the walls, gates, and ſituation of the place, he found the town to be very weak; which, immediately after his coming thither, he repreſented to the court; and within two or three days after, he ſent to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Northumberland, and biſhoprick of Durham.

Thoſe of Northumberland gave him a meeting at Morpeth; where he adviſed with them of the condition and ſtrength of the country, and of the beſt means to get intelligence of the Scots preparations, and to put the country upon the Borders in the beſt poſture of defence; which they undertook to do, according to the direction then given; and to ſend men into Scotland, to eſpy and keep ſtrict watch upon the Borders, and to give advertiſement, from time to time, what ſhould happen.

Alſo, upon ſome diſcourſe with the gentlemen of the country, the Lord Conway propounded to the Lord General * the fitneſs of fortifying Morpeth, and two other places, whither ſoldiers might retire, if they ſhould happen to be broken; and by ſome one of which any army that come out of Scotland muſt paſs, they having been heretofore fortified.

His Lordſhip writ alſo to the Lieutenant Governor of Berwick, to be careful of uſing all means of enquiry, how the Scots ſhould advance in their preparations, and to give timely advertiſement thereof; who returned aſſurance of little appearance yet of any conſiderable forces they had, and that all care ſhould be taken to obſerve them.

His Lordſhip, by his letter to the Lord General, adviſed, that arms ſhould be gotten, eſpecially muſkets, and ſent down to thoſe of Northumberland, who were willing to pay for them, if they might be furniſhed for their money; alſo, adviſing they might be ſold to them without gain, at eaſy rates; for that the getting from the country in that kind, will much diſcontent them, and diſcourage them in his Majeſty's ſervice.

He alſo propounded to the town of Newcaſtle, to furniſh men for their own defence, and that the King would arm them; which, at firſt, they denied to hearken to, fearing they ſhould be forced to continue them as trained-bands. But, upon farther examination, and apprehenſion of their

* Earl of Northumberland.

own danger, promiſed to furniſh men only to uſe muſkets and pikes. And the Lord Conway, by ſeveral letters to the Lord General, and other great miniſters, did repreſent the fitneſs to have Newcaſtle fortified; which, with a moderate charge, he thought might be made of ſufficient ſtrength, at leaſt to keep out an enemy, until his Majeſty's army might come and relieve it. And there was one hill, whereon a fort might be made, as well to keep out an enemy, as to bridle the town, if there ſhould be cauſe. And becauſe he found money was wanting, he propounded a way to raiſe the charge of it out of the buſineſs of the coals; which, notwithſtanding, was not then thought fit to be done. So that there being no more forces at Newcaſtle but 500 horſe, and it not being thought fit that his Majeſty ſhould be at any charge for fortifying the place in due time, the townſmen being unwilling to do any thing for their own ſafety; and upon this advertiſement and intelligence that came to the court, direction was given to the Lord Conway, that if the Scots ſhould come in, (as was believed they would before his Majeſty's forces were drawn together) he ſhould command the ſhips out of the river Tyne, leaſt they ſhould be ſurprized; and Sir Jacob Aſtley, Serjeant Major General of the foot, that he ſhould ſend up 4 or 5000 men from Selby. But Sir Jacob Aſtley did not think fit to ſend them, for the reaſons expreſt in a letter, dated the 10th of July, 1640, from him to Lord Conway, amongſt other things, in theſe words following.

" My Lord, I have orders from my Lord Ge-

neral to ſend 4 or 5000 men to your Lordſhip to Newcaſtle; but, conſidering there is not ſuch a number yet come, and thoſe that are come have neither colours nor halberts, and want drums, I forbear, &c.

" Now, my Lord, I am to receive all the arch-knaves in this kingdom, and to arm them at Selby. Before I came to Selby, ſome 500 of them were brought by Lieutenant Colonel Ballard. They beat up the officers and boors, and break up the priſons, &c.

" Two days ſince Colonel Lawford's regiment came hither, who had, by the way, fought with all their officers, and, as they paſſed, abuſed all the country." And, by other letters of the 13th and 18th of July, he intimated how impoſſible it would be to keep thoſe men from mutiny, if they ſhould miſs their ſeven days pay, that they would diſband and riſe againſt their officers, and ſpoil the country; and that part of his regiment raiſed in Daintree, was there totally diſbanded, and that the Lieutenant Colonel Culpeper was beaſtly ſlain by the Devonſhire men; that 300 of the Lord Marquis's regiment refuſed abſolutely to go to Hull, for fear of being ſhipped; and that he went with 100 armed men, and took with him the Marſhal General and 20 men, to force them away."

Which general diſorder, backwardneſs, and diſaffection to the ſervice, gave the Lord Conway apprehenſion, that the Scots would be encouraged thereby to make an attempt upon us, although it was againſt his judgment that they ſhould do ſo.

Upon theſe collections he could make, (of what he heard out of Scotland) which was only of ſmall numbers of men, that they had muſtered and drawn together, at Leith, Dunſe, and other places near the Borders; but when his Lordſhip was advertiſed from court, where there was conſtant intelligence from every part of Scotland, of their preparations and intentions to come with a powerful army, being aſſured of it by a letter from Mr. Secretary Vane, dated the 13th of Auguſt, wherein is expreſſed as followeth.

" My Lord, I have only to tell you in anſwer to your laſt, and your news there incloſed, that I gave his Majeſty communication thereof, who compared it with others, and that it is my opinion, that you will ſhortly (if not before this comes to your hands) hear that the Scots will march into England. I wiſh I may be deceived; for, as his Majeſty's affairs are conditioned, I am one of thoſe that deſire not to hear that they ſhould come on this ſide Tweed. I heard not of the order of bringing the army ſeven days behind in pay, and after that, fourteen days, until I was advertiſed of it out of the north; but, as your Lordſhip ſaith, in caſe of unavoidable need, it muſt be born withal; and you (I doubt not) but laying it for a ground, will perſuade the officers thereto; though I confeſs it *durus ſermo*, and therefore I do not wonder at all if they were ſad and melancholy when you declared the ſame unto them. It will be a great ſervice unto the King and ſtate, if your Lordſhip, by your conduct and wiſdom, can ſo far prevail with them, as

to keep them from mutiny, until monies come down, which his Majeſty and my Lords are haſtening to you with all poſſible diligence; for it will be worſe than ever, to have diſorders, either of horſe or foot, fall out. Now, it cannot be long expected (if at all) but that the Scots will be with you; and I heartily pray to God, that they knowing ſo much of our affairs, our diſagreements and diſorders bring them not in amongſt us. The ſame God direct you, and give you good ſucceſs, to act all for the beſt theſe difficult times." Which advertiſement agreeing with that the Lord Conway had heard by one whom he had ſent into Scotland, who was newly returned; alſo by relation of Sir Henry Gibbs, who came from thence, his Lordſhip wrote to the General, the 10th of Auguſt, as followeth.

" My Lord, I now am informed by Sir Henry Gibbs, who having buſineſs with my Lord Haddington *, went to the Borders and ſent for him. He came, and told Sir Henry, that, without all doubt, the Scottiſh army would come into England within three days; he is moſt confident of it, and ſaith, that there will be 30,000, I ſee no help for this town, but that it will be loſt. I have written divers times that it might be made defenſible; but it was not thought fit. Now, it is not poſſible to

* Thomas Hamilton, ſecond Earl of Haddington, blown up at Dunglaſs caſtle in Berwickſhire, where he commanded for the Covenanters, 1640.

reſiſt, if cannon be brought before it. Howſoever, I will ſee if I can perſuade them in the town to make ſome defence, if it be poſſible, to keep it a day or two.

" The King commands me to burn the ſuburbs. Burning of them will be of no uſe, the houſes being all of ſtone, ſo that the walls will be of as much annoyance to the town, as if the houſes were untouched. If I leave any number of men in the town, their arms will help to arm the Scots, and they are in great danger to fall into their power. If I quit the town, and leave no ſoldiers, I am ſure it will be imputed to me as a moſt diſhonourable thing, when an enemy is maſter of the field that ought to be quit of him, which cannot be kept, or in ſuch manner, as he ſhall receive leaſt benefit by it. I have wrote to Sir Jacob Aſtley, to ſend hither the foot, if he think it conſiderable to ſend them without money. If they come, it is to be feared they will run over the country more than the Scots, who, I verily believe, will do no harm, but will pay for what they have, if I be not miſinformed.

" I have wrote to the Vice Preſident, to put the trained-bands in readineſs, and to know of him how the country will ſtand affected. From Mr. Wilmot, I heard yeſterday, that Sir Jacob Aſtley had written for, and he had ſent him two troops of horſe, and Captain Herbert, becauſe he feared a mutiny will undo all, if it happen. I purpoſe to ſend for the three troops out of Weſtmoreland. If innovation be not like to be there, I will imme-

diately give order that all the ſhips go out of the river, thoſe, that cannot, be burnt or ſunk. They ſay there is a way to ſink them that they may be again recovered. I do hold my purpoſe of going with the horſe (and what muſketeers on horſeback I can get) towards them; although there will be little to be done againſt ſo many with ſo few." &c.

And alſo, at the ſame time, the Lord Conway wrote to the Earl of Strafford, and incloſed a copy of the aforementioned letter unto the Lord General. Unto which, the Earl of Strafford was pleaſed to return an anſwer to the Lord Conway, the 15th of Auguſt, in theſe words following.

" My Lords, Yours of the 10th were preſently delivered to me, as I ſat at the board; and I underſtand, the other to my Lord General, whereof you favoured me with a copy, gave much diſcourſe at court, without advantage to your Lordſhip. It is true, it is obſerved to be contrary to all that your Lordſhip hath formerly wrote, wherein you judge England to be ſecure of the Scots this year; and to believe ſo mightily an increaſe of number above what you formerly mentioned, in truth, cannot probably be really ſo, upon no more ground than the bare relation of Gibbs, a known Covenanter in heart, and too not in his own view, but only in the credit and report of the Lord Haddington, is not a little wondered at. But alſo thoſe, who wiſh you not well, ſeverely intepret to your prejudice, that, upon ſo ſlight an advertiſement, and from a perſon you had ſo little cauſe abſolutely to truſt in that buſineſs, you ſhould ſo ſuddenly pronounce

the town of Newcaſtle loſt, and ſo early take into your thoughts the quitting of that place. Beſides, we all believe it to be a northern crack, in regard we do not hear any thing yet from the Governor of Berwick, contrary to that he had formerly written in that behalf, which, we conceive, he certainly ſhould have done, before this time, if the Scots had been ſuddenly increaſed 12,000 men, as Gibbs reports, as it ſeems, to you. Nevertheleſs, I have written to the Vice Preſident to have all the trained-bands in Yorkſhire in readineſs, and will to-morrow move, that Colonel Goring and another regiment of foot, with all the horſe, may inſtantly be directed to march up unto you; which, altogether, with the trained-bands of Durham, Northumberland, and the town of Newcaſtle itſelf, I ſhould think would be ſufficient to make good the place, till the reſt of the army march up to their relief. But, for the love of Chriſt, think not ſo early of quitting the town, burning the ſuburbs, or ſinking of ſhips. For, believe me, if any ſuch thing eſcape you, there are thoſe that will preſently miſconſtrue you therein to the King. And, with all my heart, I wiſh you had not wrote that letter; it being moſt true, that Sir John Conyers * makes no mention of it; which makes me abſolutely to believe Gibbs's news either to be out of folly or malice, miſtaken or miſrepreſented to your Lordſhip."

By which letter it appears, that the Earl of Strafford doth lay blame upon the Lord Conway,

* Governor of Berwick.

and imputes it as a crime, to believe the coming of the Scots with ſo great an army, becauſe he was formerly of opinion that they would not be ready for an invaſion this year.

The cauſe of that opinion was, that he, from time to time, was aſſured from court, that there would be monies to ſupply the King's firſt deſigns; and then he had reaſon to judge, that they would be ſo far from attempting us, that they would be hard put to it to defend themſelves. Beſides, the Lord Conway had no notice given him from the court, till a few days before, what the Scots noblemen and gentlemen about the King had informed, who muſt of neceſſity have retained knowledge of every thing that was done in every part of that kingdom; there being many of the beſt quality attending his Majeſty, who had in Scotland fathers and mothers, wives and children, brothers, ſiſters, allies and friends, who, as the Lord Conway has heard ſince, gave certain notice of all the preparations; and if the ſaid Earl would not believe them yet, it could not be any better in him but a wilful unbelief. And it could not be expected, that the Lord Conway could have ſo good intelligence of their preparations, which were made in ſmall numbers, and in ſeveral remote places, till they were drawn up together, for that he was a ſtranger there, and had no allowance for intelligences, which ſhould have required great ſums, to be well done; and it was not to be done but by employing Scotſmen; wherein they had a great advantage of us, in not ſuffering any of our nation to go to them, and

their's having free paſſage with us. And for Sir Henry Gibbs, he was a man ever believed to be an honeſt man, and faithful ſervant to the King; neither had the Lord Conway heard any other of him at court, or there in the country, where he was well known to divers gentlemen his neighbours. And he had been informed of the Lord Haddington, that he was much of the King's part, as far as he durſt appear. And for the ſecond part, to think Newcaſtle would be loſt, the Lord Conway conceiveth to be no ſudden or raſh opinion; for he had divers times before propounded that the town ſhould be fortified, and declared, that without fortification it was not tenable; as ſeveral letters, written to him after the ſame was loſt, may witneſs. In one of which, from the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, amongſt other things, theſe words were contained.

"It is true, that your letter that you ſent, and the opinion you expreſs, what would become of Newcaſtle, in caſe the Scots came in, was cenſured, and not to your advantage; and ſo much I wrote to my Lord Lieutenant ſince his going northward; and all that you wrote is found too true. But that which is thought might have been done more, is, that the hill on this ſide might have had ſome defence put upon it; and that, as yourſelf writes, more might have been done to hinder the paſſage of Newburn-ford; but if the ſoldiers there, and men of experience be of opinion, that, as things were then conditioned, you could not hinder them; and that things which you did at the firſt

adviſe, are now doing by the Scots, I think you mean ſurely that you cannot be blamed for the one, but ſomebody may be blamed for the other," &c. And alſo, in another letter from Mr. Secretary Windebanke, dated 23d September, theſe words, amongſt other things, are contained.

" My Lord of Canterbury hath abundantly cleared any thing that can be objected againſt you, concerning the neglecting or fortifying of Newcaſtle, which is evident you did propoſe timely enough to have preſerved it from ſurpriſal." Neither could the Lord Conway have had much hope in forces at Selby, becauſe Sir Jacob Aſtley had divers times advertiſed him of the want of money, the unrulineſs of the ſoldiers, their want of arms, and total ignorance to uſe them, which was ſuch, that the Earl of Strafford in the great Council did openly declare, that he told his Majeſty, that upon firſt ſight of the ſoldiers, it was was not ſafe for his Majeſty to hazard any thing with that army, by reaſon of their unſkilfulneſs of their arms. And therefore the Lord Conway doth think it injuſtice to require another to do that, which he that required it, doth not think fit to be done. And it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherways, being levied and brought together ſo late in July and Auguſt, when the ſervice was to be done, and the Scots were exerciſing two years together, and many of them had been in the field the year before. Alſo, from the trained-bands of Yorkſhire leſs good was to be expected, as appears by a letter the Lord Conway received from the Vice-Preſident of

York, about the 14th of Auguſt, wherein is expreſſed as followeth.

" Yeſterday immediately after my return to York, I received not your letter till Wedneſday morning, I ſent forth directions to the Colonels of the County, or to the Lieutenant-Colonels, whereof we want at this preſent time; and my Lord Lieutenant, having been ſo full of other buſineſs of great importance, hath not as yet ſupplied their places with others; nor indeed can we find fit perſons for that employment, who ſtand rightly affected to his Majeſty's ſervice; in which reſpect, two of the four were lately diſcharged from their commands.

" I doubt extremely they are not now in ſo ſudden a condition as they were laſt year, many arms being loſt in that expedition, and none to be bought ever ſince, for ſupply of defence. A great number likewiſe of exerciſed men, both horſe and foot, are gone from their maſter's ſervice into other countries, or ſeveral parts of this county, ſo as we cannot meet with them again, but are forced to take up new men. And though we have, from time to time, called upon the commanders to exerciſe often, yet I find, that by reaſon of the country's great expence, both this year and the laſt, and the damage it hath ſuſtained by the preſent army, they have ſo much forborn their duty. But, which is worſt of all, it is much to be feared, by thoſe murmurs and repinings that fall from our gentry's mouths in every place, upon all occaſions, that they will not ſtir with their men further than

the neceſſity of their own ſafety will enforce them, which they think will be ſufficiently preſerved, if they march into the confines of their country.

" I perceive likewiſe by ſome of them which I doubt will prove gentlemen, that they will expect advance-money, if they ſtir, as was lately allowed when ſix of our regiments ſhould have marched to Newcaſtle. I beſeech God work better affections in us than that I find; for I am perſuaded, that if Hannibal were at our gates, ſome had rather open to them, than keep them out. It grieves me to give your Lordſhip this account; I pray God I may be miſtaken therein; but in obedience to your commands in this particular, and what hope may be expected from our forces, and the gentry of our country, I have truly repreſented to your Lordſhip my opinion, with my apprehenſions, and the reaſons of them. The country is very willing, upon my Lord Lieutenant's laſt letter, to truſt the country for 14 days; but I perceive his Lordſhip will have many bills of fare preſented to him when the army is gone from us.

" Monies, we yet hear of none, than 8000 l. which our High Sheriff lately paid in; ſome of which is already iſſued. I think the Scots had better to advance a great way into Northumberland, than to ſend the army, to encounter them, without pay; for then, without queſtion, they will prove more ravenous upon the country, than the Scots, who, for their own ends, and to gain a party, will give the country all the fair quarter that may be,

which our men neither can nor will do. 'Tis time to forbear," &c.

Beſides all theſe, the Lord Conway had advertiſement from court, that the firſt counſels for ſo many arms was ſo far from being purſued, as now the Lord Marquis of Hamilton's expedition was wholly to be laid aſide; that the Lord Strafford's regiments were not to be raiſed, and ſome of the regiments of the north were to be reduced; and that inſtead of 20,000 men appointed for the Borders, there ſhould be only 14 or 15,000; for the paying of which there was ſo little money, that it was not to be hoped that they ſhould be held together without mutiny. So that things ſtanding in this ſtate, they gave ſuch evident proof either of the weakneſs, or non-purſuance of that firſt counſel, which deſigned ſo powerful invaſion, and was then forced to a defenſive war, and upon all poſſible diſadvantage, that the Lord Conway had juſt cauſe to believe, that not only Newcaſtle would be loſt, but God knows how much of England more, if that an invader would attempt it, and thoſe of the country would not defend, and therefore did foreſee the town muſt be abandoned, quitting that which could not be kept, and leaving it in ſuch manner, as it ſhould give the leaſt help as might be to the invaders that ſhould take it, that with unfoiled force, a good reſiſtance might be given, in a convenient place, or attempt might be made to cauſe them to retire into Scotland; and whether that were beſt, or go on headlong till we fall into the ditch, he leaves to the world to judge.

The burning of the ſuburbs, in caſe of danger, was an expreſs command from the King; and therefore it was the Lord Conway's duty to give a reaſon why he thought it not neceſſary to be done; and the propoſition of ſinking ſhips did proceed from a command he received in theſe words, amongſt others, in a letter of the 23d June, 1640.

"When you hear that the Scots are approaching, your Lordſhip muſt command all the ſhipping out of the Tyne, leſt the Scots ſurprize them." And becauſe it was not conſidered whether the winds and tides would ſerve, the Lord Conway did propound the ſinking of them, to help the defect of the command, and to ſhew himſelf obedient in it, in caſe they could not be ſent out of the river, which was a thing very reaſonable and fit to be done, therefore much miſtaken of them that thought otherwiſe of it.

This letter, and the order ſent for keeping of the town of Newcaſtle, by fortifying of it, when it was too late, made the Lord Conway lay aſide all other thoughts, but only to endeavour to do that which was commanded; therefore he ſent for the Deputy Lieutenants of Northumberland and the biſhoprick of Durham, who promiſed to do all that was poſſible for his Majeſty's ſervice, and accordingly employed their beſt endeavours, but the country would not lend any money to pay the trained-bands, or the King's army, nor furniſh any horſes to mount muſketeers, nor would the train-bands move without pay, being rather deſirous to ſtay at their houſes, to look to the ſafety

of their goods and friends. So that Lord Conway having no forces but the horſe to go out with into Northumberland, and having ſent men of experience to view the country, and the river of Corkett, (there being no place found where it was poſſible for him to give the Scots any ſtop) he did not think it fit to go out to meet them, ſince he was not able to hinder their paſſage; and that he muſt be forced ſo ſoon as he ſhall ſee them, to retire before them, and thinking it not conſiderable to be afraid, or go and meet them whom he could not meddle withal. For ſmall parties would ſerve to bring intelligence of the motion of their army, but the letter which he received from the Earl of Strafford, the 15th of Auguſt, declaring what ill conſtructions were made of the Lord Conway's advertiſement of the 10th of Auguſt, did make him doubt that as ill interpretation would be made of this, which he thought the beſt counſel, not to move againſt the Scots, until he had forces, and place fitting to encounter them. And it is moſt likely it would have fallen out ſo, for that he did underſtand by letters from court, that they did think, that the Scots might be ſtaid at Alnwick or Morpeth, ſome days, two places they came not at, and which are ſuch, as one might be as well commanded to keep the wind out of the door with one's hand, as to ſtay an army there. And the country likewiſe, although they would not contribute any thing to their own ſafety, yet did murmur that Northumberland was abandoned. Therefore, to avoid the danger which he

doubted from the court, (if it were poſſible to keep thoſe people of Northumberland from aſſiſting of the Scots) he went out four days with 1000 horſe, and being without ability to do any hurt to the Scots army, was forced to retire before them to Newcaſtle, whither Sir Jacob Aſtley was come, during the Lord Conway's abſence, and had brought with him the ſoldiers from Selby, that were armed, leaving 4000 behind him that wanted arms, which 4000 were after ſent to Newcaſtle, but were turned back again without arms, as they came, there being none for them, nor monies to pay them there.

Sir Jacob Aſtley had uſed all diligence to make quarters for the ſoldiers without the town, for ſecurity of it, as well as the time would poſſibly admit, according to the commandment then ſent to view the river of Tyne, which was found to have many fords, and the higher up the river, were the fords the larger and ſhallower. And becauſe it was believed that the enemy would paſs at Newburne, he had cauſed the engineers to caſt up ſome works there; and in obedience from the court, to uſe all means poſſible for the defence of the river; after one night's ſtay at Newcaſtle, the Lord Conway went to Newburne with all the horſe, and about 2000 foot. That day he came (being the 27th of Auguſt) the Scots came to the other ſide of the works that were made upon the paſſage ſo ſlight, that the Lord Conway would not have hazarded the troops in any ſuch engagement, where they ſhould have been ſure to have been beaten.

And altho' Sir Jacob Aſtley came the next day with 2000 men more, and increaſed his ſtrength; yet the Lord Conway, not to engage the troopers farther than he might ſafely retire, had reſolved to make retreat to Newcaſtle, if he had not, at that inſtant, received a letter from the Earl of Strafford, commanding him to fight, which followeth in theſe words.

" * My Lord, I purpoſing to have been moving towards you to-morrow, but I am ſo ſick and weak, as the King will not ſuffer me to ſtir hence, till Saturday, at the ſooneſt. Your Lordſhip will permit me to deal plainly with you; I find all men, in this place, extremely ill ſatisfied with the guiding of the horſe, and publiſh it infinitely to your diſadvantage, that having with you 2000 horſe, and 10,000 foot, you ſhould ſuffer an enemy to march ſo long a way, without any ſkirmiſh, nay, without once looking on them. And it imports you moſt extremely, by ſome noble action, to put yourſelf from under the weight of ill tongues. Your laſt letter certified, as that the enemy is intending to paſs the river at Hixcombe †. If ſo, I ſhall adviſe, that you, with all the horſe, and at leaſt 8000 foot, and all the cannon you have, march oppoſite unto them, on this ſide of the river; and be ſure, whatever follows, to fight with them upon their paſſage. Indeed you look ill about you,

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* This letter is printed amongſt Lord Strafford's.

† *Qu.* Hexham.

if you ſecure not the river. If there be a bridge at Hixcombe, it would be broken down. Dear my Lord, take the advice of the beſt men, and do ſomething worthy of yourſelf. There was ſent a man to viſit the Scots army, who hath been there amongſt them, and he aſſures us, upon his life, that their horſe is not at all conſiderable, which ſtill lays it heavilier upon you; their foot, at moſt, but 20,000. And this, I am confident, you may rely upon." Which letter, although it be ſaid to be an advice, yet the Lord Conway conceives it to be a command, and as much as was poſſible for a General to command, and oratory to enforce.

The laſt preſcribes how he ſhould fight; the firſt part adviſeth him to break his neck upon any advantage. And howſoever this is ſaid to be but an advice, if the Lord Conway had not obſerved it, it would then have proved a command. And it is moſt probable, that the miſcarriage of the buſineſs would have been laid upon his not fighting with the Scots; ſince, it was endeavoured to be laid upon his fighting, diſavowing that he had order ſo to do, and before that, laying great blame upon his not fighting with the Scots, coming through Northumberland, and not underſtanding the country; maintaining, that the Lord Conway, with thoſe horſe he had, might have gone to the Scots army, and counted every colour, and cornets, and to have come in at pleaſure, without being touched; a thing impoſſible to be done, unleſs he had found them as David did Saul and his army, when he took away the ſpear and pot of

water from his head. And for the good intelligence that the Earl of Strafford had of the Scots forces, the Lord Conway aſſureth, that he received as certain information of them, as it was poſſible to be gotten, both by ſoldiers that put themſelves in a diſguiſe, and marched in their army a day or two, and by many gentlemen of the country that ſaw their army march; ſo that he had very good reaſon to believe their reports, before any thing that could be informed to the Earl of Strafford, by any ſingle intelligence to the contrary, who had not ſo good means to know, or abilities to judge of the ſtrength of the Scots army, as divers that gave their informations from their own view; and taking it for granted, that they were not more than 20,000 men, and their horſe inferior to ours, it was no wiſdom to hazard a day with them, with 10,000 foot, and 2000 horſe, and that not only upon the diſadvantage we had in the number, but the rawneſs and untowardneſs of our men. The Scots having made a battery, and drawn down their army, our works were provided with men to defend them, and with others to ſecond them. Six troops of horſe were placed to charge the Scots where they came over, and ſix or ſeven more were placed to ſecond them. When the Scots forces were in a readineſs, and their cannon placed, our works were not proof againſt them, the ſoldiers were unacquainted with the cannon, and therefore did not endure many ſhot; thoſe that were to ſecond them followed their example,

The horſe charged the Scots, and drove them back into the river, but the cannon beating thro', ſome of our troops that were ſet to ſecond, went off; when they ſaw the place forſaken, they ſhould have gone on the left hand, that they might have gone off with the foot; but, miſtaking their direction, went on the right hand, which carried them up the hill, where they found ſome troops. Whilſt they conſulted what was beſt to be done, the Scots horſe came up in two diviſions, and with them 1000 muſketeers. The firſt charge was upon the regiment commanded by Mr. Wilmot, who was there taken priſoner, his men forſaking him, and falling foul of ſome troops of the Lord Conway's regiment, diſordered them; the reſt, being charged, did as they ſaw others do before them.

The cauſe of the loſs that day was, the diſadvantage of the ground, and the ſlight fortification, which the ſhortneſs of the time would not afford to be better; neither would it admit us to make any works upon the hill, where we ſtood oppoſite againſt the Scots; and when we came to fight, the ſoldiers did not their parts as they ought to have done, being the moſt of them the meaneſt ſort of men about London, and unacquainted with ſervice, and forgetting to do that which they had often been commanded and taught.

After the diſorder, the horſe, by Lord Conway's commandment, went to Durham, the foot to Newcaſtle, where it was conſulted by the Lord Conway, Sir Jacob Aſtley, and all the Colonels, what was fit to be done. By all their conſents, it

was agreed, the town ſhould be quitted, becauſe it was not tenable, being altogether unfortified on the Biſhoprick's ſide, and the fortifications on the other ſide were very inconſiderable. To ſtay there, would but increaſe the loſs; it would not ſave any thing. The gaining of two or three days could not much ſtrengthen the town, there being not any place that could be made defenſible in that time, and the loſs of our men would greatly leſſen the King's army; and this was agreeable to that which was thought fit at court; for with all ſpeed orders were diſpatched, by ſeveral ways, to command the bringing of the army from Newcaſtle; as it appears by the two enſuing letters from the Earl of Strafford, both dated the 29th of Auguſt, in theſe words following.

" After our hearty commendations to your Lordſhip, and the reſt. This ſad accident which hath befallen us, upon the paſſing of the Scots over the Tyne, will fetch all our councils round; there is no remedy, we muſt retire, and, as I think, to Hull, the horſe to Durham. I ſhall gather and ſettle the beſt I can, and ſo march up to join with the reſt of ſuch horſe and foot as are left us. And how to fetch that part of our foot that are at Newcaſtle, is, God knows, our greateſt care and difficulty. I ſend you this by the way of Sunderland. I will, before I ſleep, ſend another to Hixcombe. In my opinion, your beſt way will be to ſhip yourſelves, if it be poſſible you can, and ———for Hull; that were beſt; but if that cannot be, then, if the town be not to be held any

longer, to make the beſt compoſition for your-ſelves with honour; but therein I muſt wholly ſubmit to your own better judgment upon the place; and ſo, in haſte, I commit you to the bleſſed protection.

"Poſtſcript. Before I had cloſed this letter, his Majeſty came to this town, who approves of all before-written; only adviſeth, that if there be any poſſibility of keeping the town, (then, that ſhipping the reſt) you leave 2000 men in the town, to defend it."

"It was very good news here to me, to underſtand that the foot were all advanced on this ſide of Durham, nor is there any thing to be done more, than to loſe no time in your retreat; for there is no thought of fighting with an afrighted army, till they join with the King's forces, which, I truſt, will be near 20,000. I will uſe all poſſible diligence to provide as much bread as poſſible I can in this town; and have given order that 8000 l. ſhall meet us at Topliffe, to furniſh the ſoldiers with money. Put as much life in your men as you can, and aſſure them, within a few days, there will be 80,000 l. on the way from London, which will give every man his own. Really we ſhall want no money. I have taken the like courſe for baking of bread, and buying, here at Northallerton, as alſo about the country; and I truſt from York we ſhall have good quantities meet us in the way. I ſhall think the time long, till I ſee you and Sir Jacob Aſtley, to whom I pray you ſhow this letter; and I pray you have ſome horſemen behind

you, that may be as a watch upon the motion of our enemy, and ſhall bring us timely advertiſement what they do. And ſo I reſt."

And although the town of Newcaſtle had been kept ſome days, yet would it have been not with any advantage to the King's ſervice, ſeeing he had no monies. And, by all gueſſes, his chiefeſt ſtrength being in choice men that were at Newcaſtle, it would have been much to the King's diſſervice to have put thoſe men inevitably to have undergone baſe conditions, when they muſt compound with the town, if it had pleaſed the invader.

Beſides theſe reaſons, though there was a good quantity of powder and lead in the town, yet there wanted muſkets and bullets, there being no moulds to make them; which want cannot be imputed to a commander, any more, than if he commanded a certain number of muſketeers, and that when they came to uſe their muſkets, they would not do ſervice for want of ſcouring-ſticks. If there had been moulds, bullets would not have been wanting; but bullets would not have ſerved to keep a town that wanted fortification.

Now, upon the whole matter, it may eaſily be judged, whether theſe two ſingle actions, of the retreat of Newburne, and quitting Newcaſtle, were the cauſes of our loſſes, or the defect of ill-grounded deſigns, to make a war without monies to go on with it, and to begin it at ſea; thereby giving the Scots a pretence to attempt us by land, before we were able to reſiſt them.

FINIS.

# SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON OF WARISTON

TO

# LORD BALMERINO.

MY NOBLE LORD,

THIS is only to ſhow you God's wiſe diſpenſation of keeping us continually in exerciſe with his interlaid good and ſad news, and ſucceſſive hopes and fears; for, on a ſudden, a ſtorm has ariſen here among us, occaſioned by ſome deviliſh plot of our adverſaries, whereof Traquair is not thought innocent———raiſing a ſlander againſt us, as growing remiſs againſt the two incendiaries and epiſcopacy, that thereby we might be odious with the people, or, by our clearing ourſelves, be odious to the King. This ſlander forced us to give in to the Engliſh commiſſioners a paper clearing ourſelves, whereof ſome having cauſed print the copy, and affix it to all the common places, as the Scots commiſſioners proclamation, the King has run ſtark mad at it, and his council has been extremely offended at the printing of it in England, without the King's authority, and, upon our denial of any order for printing, they mind to recal it by public proclamation. But the King, in his paſſion, ſaid ſome harſh expreſſions to all our commiſſioners, as, that no ambaſſadors durſt have done it for their hanging, that we were guilty of ſedition, and that it was an ſeditious libel, that he

would make us repent it, and that thereby we had tint [loſt] our priviledge, meaning our ſafe-conduct. This was all in paſſion, but they were evil-favoured words. To tell you the truth, none can juſtify the printing of it, neither knew I of it; and albeit the paper, becauſe of its bitterneſs, be called Johnſton's paper, yet it was delivered to the Engliſh commiſſioners *or ever* I did ſo much as ſee it; ſome has been over buſy in it, to make ſome of us odious to the King, becauſe they ſaw his countenance changing towards us more nor to themſelves. But I truſt God ſhall blow over this ſtorm with the reſt, and turn this plot on the projectors of it. You cannot but ſee a providence of the Lord in making ſome men, upon diſcontent, ſo hot-ſpirited and fiery againſt epiſcopacy. I hope none will be feared, that Lothian, Loudon, or myſelf, will grow remiſs, for all the favour and place in the world; but, it may be, if the King's countenance had turned ſo towards them, as they apprehend it is towards us, they would have been *more remiſs*, and leſs violent nor [than] we are. The plague of God will light on that preferment that turns away a man's heart, or weakens his hands, in the work of God. But we have been all over-raſh in ſuffering this to be printed, till we had formally given in our demand for removal of epiſcopacy, with the reaſons thereof, that may convince the judgment of the parliament that *exoneravimus plenè et planè animas noſtras;*" and God himſelf will be ſeen in this our duty. I got the letter with Maitland's man. Wonder that Traquair got information of

his ——————— he, or his friends for him, profeſſeth that he will impeach Argyle, Rothes, *and me*, for treaſonable ſpeeches, and that, if he muſt fall, he ſhall leave nothing undone to make heaven and earth fall with him.

[Some lines illegible.]

We have ſent now to ſtay Argyle till *this ſtorm be* blown by. The King will not *ſuffer* any thing *to be changed* in the treaty, but only *refers* to his own declaration, which would be ambulatory, and which we cannot accept, nor do any thing as commiſſioners, but in and by the treaty with the Engliſh commiſſioners from him and the parliament. While I was writing this, I hear the ——————— morning has gotten the proclamation put over until Monday, and it may be then, by ſome more *ſmooth* fair paper, excuſing the printing of it, we get it prevented. I wiſh, in your letter, we were again directed to ſeek an warrant to the Advocate, who, as I hear, has gotten a command not to purſue; yet even that will help Traquair's guiltineſs. Thus in *haſte*, with Arthur Erſkine.

Your Lordſhip's humble ſervant,

A. I.

27th February, [1641.]

# PART OF A LETTER

FROM

# LORD MAITLAND*

TO

# LORD BALMERINO [probably.]

MY NOBLE LORD,

——— I THOUGHT I could not but let you know, that the violence of that anger, I hope, is paſt, which his Majeſty was in about that paper which was given in the 24th February; and I believe the paper which was given in yeſterday to clear our intentions, will ſtop all the violent courſes was [that were] ſpoke of, either by proclamation, or otherwiſe. In the mean time, I believe that paper was not altogether fruitleſs, for the city was content to lend 160,000 l. to the parliament yeſterday, which they refuſed before. This will, I hope, do good to our army, when we get our proportion of it.———

London, 2d March, 1641.

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* Afterwards Duke of Lauderdale. The reader, by comparing this letter with the foregoing one, may form ſome judgment of the political zeal of that remarkable perſonage, who ſeems, on this occaſion, to juſtify a meaſure for which even Wariſton himſelf could offer no excuſe.

# WARISTON

TO

# LORD BALMERINO.

MY NOBLE LORD,

ALBEIT I writ largely yeſternight with the merchant poſt, this is to ſhow you that I have heard ſince, that the parliament will not readily grant a new month's maintenance, but only for fifteen days, and ſo for horſes other fifteen, and will deſire an index of our demands under this laſt article; and that Traquair having undertaken to the King (as we hear, but know not the certainty) to alter or put off our demands anent [concerning] the Council and Seſſion (whereof I ſent you before a copy then agreed on) the Sheriff-clerk and B. Swinton, this day, with great heat, hath diſputed againſt our ſeeking the King's chuſing the Council and Seſſion by advice of our oath, and alledging, that our firſt inſtructions therefor were taken away by that inſtruction, ſent up with Maitland, for ſeeing honeſt men provided to places of State and Seſſion, &c. Lord Rothes, Loudon, and myſelf ſtrictly abide by it, and ſhew here there was neither any contrariety, nor albeit there was, could we but obey the firſt, which was ſubſcribed by both quorums, and declared unrepealable by any one of the quorums; ſo that, changing only ſome few words, we have forced them to keep the article. By this ye may know who ſtands ſtricteſt

for the country, and who is ſeeking themſelves, as Mar and ſome others did at the firſt union. I ſee alſo by them, that upon that *motion* of ſome honeſt men to be in Seſſion and Council, and the other of getting ſervants about the King and Prince, that they will take upon them here to nominate the particular perſons, which, I think, ſhould only be competent to the Committees, yea unto the States alone, which they may do after ſerious reſolution; but that, in the mean time, we ſhould get the King's grant of the general, by their advice. Look what warrant ye would ſend to prevent inconvenients that may ariſe by our overmuch taking on with the Papiſts. The Lieutenant,* Arundell, and Berkſhire have made ſome faction in the lower houſe, for to propone a purſuit againſt the Marquis, † becauſe they ſee themſelves ruined by his ſtanding more with the favour of the honeſt men of both kingdoms, but they have been *diverted* from proponing it. There is nothing in it when all is done, and all that are for us, or our cauſe, in the country here, are ſo reſolute to cruſh it, to affront the firſt motions of it, that it will tend to his honour, rather than to his prejudice. Traquair's hand is not thought free of this; God will diſcover him more and more; "Quos *Jupiter* vult *perdere*, eos dementat."——

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* The great Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

† Probably, the Marquis of Hamilton.

I pray God that no miſchief be wrought at home. Haſte any other queſtions ye would ſend to us; and adviſe ſolidly anent the ſecuring clauſes of the act of parliament that ratify the treaty; adviſe it with Sir Thomas Nicolſon and Durie, &c. The Lord be with you.

Your Lordſhip's humble ſervant,

A. J.

3d March.

Make uſe of the Lieutenant's charge, which I ſent you with the act of triennial parliament.

# CERTAIN PASSAGES IN THE LETTERS FROM WARISTON TO LORD BALMERINO.*

3d March.

THE Lieutenant's proceſs [Lord Strafford's trial] continueth every day, and yet they are but at the ninth article. I can give no judgment of other buſineſs till that be ended.————There are ſome ſurmiſes among themſelves of plots of the adverſaries from the Iriſh and the Engliſh army againſt themſelves. Upon our removal [the return of the Scottiſh army homewards] what courſe they will take, either to ſtay and linger us, or ſave themſelves by themſelves, as yet is not known. They are unhappy men that would now deſire to come up, [from Scotland to London,] they are ſafer at home, as manieſt think here. We will keep their faſt on Sunday and Tueſday; I pray God to make it powerful and ſucceſsful for Chriſt's crown, and good of the whole iſle.

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* There are extant, in the Advocate's Library, many letters written by Wariſton to Lord Balmerino, during the ſitting of the Engliſh Parliament, in 1641. The reader is here preſented with thoſe parts of them which ſeem moſt curious and characteriſtical.

9th March.———Truly we have had a great miſtineſs and darkneſs of buſineſs here this fifteen days. All men's hearts began to fail them, and the enemies to rejoice; but the Lord, who doth his own work in his own way, ſeems to turn the chace; for yeſterday in the over houſe, [houſe of Lords] when Briſtol, Saville, Hertford, and ſundry others removed out of the houſe, in anger about the Lieutenant's buſineſs, Say, Mandeville, Bedford, Eſſex, Brook, and many with them, bide ſtill, and back the lower houſe in that purſuit; and this day the committee anent [concerning] epiſcopacy reported to the lower houſe, that they ſaw the Biſhops civil places in Parliament, Council, &c. to be unlawful, and their ſole power of ordination and juriſdiction, which is intended to be voiced to-morrow, and is hoped to be carried; and for ſtrengthening this, in the afternoon we are to give in our demands, with the reaſons thereof, for removal of epiſcopacy out of all his Majeſty's dominions; as this day, on the deſire of both houſes, we have given in already an index of our demands, under our eight articles, wherewith the King has been ill-pleaſed, anent no war with foreigners, but by mutual counſel, and anent *conſervationes pacis*, which he called our tables *. The ceſſation is continued a new month, which I think ſhall be their laſt with their will; and ſo, apparently, our Parliament muſt be prorogued to the end of May, or firſt of June.———

* The Aſſemblies held for ſubſcribing the Covenant.

10th March. This day the haill [whole] lower houſe unanimouſly, but with four or five contrary voices, has declared that Biſhops ſhould have no civil places, and then again that they ſhould have no voice in Parliament. The Earl of Cork has proved ſome foul points of new againſt the Lieutenant. There are ſome commiſſioners come from Ireland with report of arrêts or proteſtations there againſt the Prelates, and at night we gave in our large demand for unity in religion and government; all which coming on the King together, and on a ſuddenty, you may gueſs what a mood they would put him in. I wiſh his confidence of ſtanding out have no ground from ſome at home.——— Tell theſe good news to the honeſt man and good Mr. Harry *; truly I think them worth praiſe and prayer from the kirk of Scotland ſolemnly, and the more, in regard of the unanimity, beyond many's fears.

12th March.———If from Newcaſtle ye ſend up any Baron with Argyle and Lindſay, whoſe coming I dare not counſel now till the ſtorm be calmed, it will not be politicly nor ſafely done to ſend Laird of Keir here, to ſtrengthen Traquair's faction and correſpondence with Montroſe at home; it will ſeem fitter to ſend up Sir Thomas Hope, on whom you may truſt.———

2d April. The King and Briſtol will ſtrive to haſte for to poſt 21 away to ſave Strafford and

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* Mr. Harry Rollock, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh.

epiſcopacy, but we peremptorily inſiſt for the Parliament's anſwer to our paper anent unity of religion. There are certainly many plots hatched to mine this kingdom here. They cauſed ſome of them try us to preſs the diſbanding of the Engliſh and Iriſh army, wherewith miſchief is intended, which we could not do without offering to diſſolve ours. Strafford's buſineſs is but yet on the fifteenth article; the lower houſe, if they ſee that the King gains many of the upper houſe not to condemn him, they will make a bill of teinture *, and condemn him formally in their own houſe, and ſend it up to their houſe, as any other act of parliament, to be voiced formally. The town of London will give no money to the Parliament, till they do juſtice; they would take heed to the Parliament, that nothing be done to the prejudice of their friends, or in favour of the public incendiaries.——————Your faſt falls out in a ſeaſonable time, if the Lord be pleaſed to grant as timeous a ſucceſs.——————I requeſt your Lordſhip to cauſe your lawyers be buſy for ordering of the proceſſes†, both to think on matters of relevancy and on probation; if it be not done, there is none in that

* So Wariſton ſpells *attainder*; a plain proof, that, though he reliſhed the thing, he was not acquainted with the word.

† The accuſations intended in the Scottiſh Parliament againſt Traquair and the others, commonly termed *incendiaries*.

committee will be ſo much blamed, becauſe there is none ſo much truſted with buſineſs of that importance, and becauſe mercenary advocates are not ſo diligent and ſtudious in public purſuit for the commonwealth, as in private proceſſes of well paying clients, I requeſt your Lordſhip to pay them before-hand largely, and to remember we have to do with a man * who will make no conſcience, but think it good policy in ſuch a ſtrait, by large buddes, [bribes] to lay lawyers by, and cauſe their ſervants reveal all the ſecreteſt articles which are againſt him. Fy on them that will not be diligent in this! Was not that I muſt be one of the primeſt witneſſes in many points laid to his charge, and ſo cannot be his purſuer, if I was in their caſe I would have thought it a notable occaſion to *expreſs affection* to their cauſe and country; but howſoever, if I can win [get] down, I ſhall do my utmoſt to help them to propone things. Earl of Holland is made General of the King's army inſtead of Northumberland; this is ſtrange, when armies ſhould diſband. We are not all ſo ſure here as we have been, but, as long as there is any hazard, for no reaſon ſhall ſome of us come away, with God's grace.———

——— † *The* advocates here have fine rencounters of ſpeech of *quick turns* of wit, but little ſyl-

* Meaning Traquair.

† This is taken from a letter much torn and defaced, whereof the date is not certain; ſeveral of the chaſm are ſupplied by *conjecture*.

logiſtical ſolidity of matter. *I* wiſh our proceſs be better tabled at home, and our advocates better furniſhed. Let not money be ſpared on *them*, and ſpur them on; let them now ſtudy all points *of* the diſputes, ſeeing they have not much trouble by *other* proceſſes. Oneill and Wilmot are gained by *the King's* private dealings to be on plots and engagements. If the French come over here, as is reported up and down, *who knows* if they ſhould unite this iſle, and force them to *join againſt* the foe, as the Engliſh coming to our bor*ders*, ſerved us to think of *unity among ourſelves*.——Bleſſed be God that diſpoſeth all for *his glory*, let man propoſe what he will——I am aſſured that whatſoever *God does*, in ſuffering his adverſaries to plot and *conſpire*, *the* ſame is beſt for himſelf and the ca*uſe of his* people.——Remember me to good Mr. Harry, who, I know, will think, with myſelf, (who was ay ſaid to be blyth, as I did witneſs) that buſineſs is going in God's old way.

# WARISTON

TO

# ADAM HEPBURN OF HUMBIE.

LOVING BROTHER,

I THINK we have ſo oft warned you to be on your guard, and to expect war rather nor [than] peace, that we need not repeat it, albeit we ſee daily new grounds of confirming us in that judgment. There is great ſuſpicion of the French their coming hither, and a common report privately, of the Queen going to Portſmouth with 400 or 500 horſe. The lower houſe, after many debates and long delays, has yeſternight voiced their bill of finding Strafford's endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental laws, and introduce an arbitrary government, to be high treaſon, and carried it unanimouſly, except 30, or thereabout, of contrary voices; they are to give it up to the Lords; what they will do, God knows; but we hear it commonly reported, that the King himſelf is to go to both houſes to intercede for his life, and to give them many fair words. The lower houſe has been ſo buſy with this, as our buſineſs has been hitherto ſhifted, but now is to come in. The greateſt oppoſition by the King is made againſt the act of oblivion *, which he will either have univerſal, or

* See Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, B. iii. P. 182—184.

none at all, or will reſerve as many amongſt us, as we reſerve of thoſe that are *with him*. The Duke of Lenox, in the higher houſe, moved a large diſcourſe on all theſe *different* members; it is eaſily known from whence it comes. My Lord Traquair, as he profeſſed once to myſelf, and another time to Mr. Henderſon, that he could challenge the Earl of Rothes of treaſon; and he hath ſaid once to me, and, as my Lord Rothes knows from others, he ſaid it alſo to the King, that before he periſhed he would mix heaven, and earth, and hell together. Some of his friends have told, that he has challenges of treaſon againſt ſundry of our number. The King has ſpoken both to — and Mr. Pym, and told that he would reſerve as many as we did, perhaps would be better, and only reſerve 3 for our 4 called incendiaries. It is univerſally ſurmiſed, that my Lord Rothes is one, Argyle is ſuſpected to be another, it is not known whether Loudon be one, I am thought certainly of the number, and either Sir Thomas Hope, Robert Meldrum, or you; it is thought that Balmerino is not forgot. However, for ought we can conjecture, the accuſations come from home. The King ſays that he will go to the Parliament-houſe, declare their names, ſhew their crimes of treaſon, by their letters or papers, and witneſſes at home, (who ſometimes are ſaid *to be* noblemen witneſſes, who are no doubt the leaders of your banditti, ſeeing the accuſation is like to the narrative of the bond againſt ſome few perſons.) He ſays he will not meddle with their perſons here, but remit them to their

own Parliament. But it is hard to believe, that any who counſel the King to accuſe any of us of treaſon, but will counſel him alſo to lay us faſt, as pledges of the Scots army remaining quiet; neither do I ſee, if any of us be once accuſed of treaſon, how the perſons accuſed can go in the treaty, but ſhould come home, and let your committees ſend in their ſtead whom they pleaſe, or do otherways as they think fit. Thoſe of us who favoured Traquair may ſleep ſound, and fear no danger; but God help them that are counted his enemies for ſticking *ſo cloſe* by their inſtructions. I have made an fair offer for myſelf, that I ſhall be heartily content to be yoked in one chain with the Earl of Traquair, and let him accuſe me, and me accuſe him, and let the judgment go free, and the nocent ſuffer. We have written information for ſome Lords, and ſome of the lower houſe, and as I have ſaid to them, ſo I ſay and write to you from the bottom of my heart, that before the Parliament of Scotland were thus fruſtrated and boaſted [threatned] from their purſuit of incendiaries, (whom now, if ever, they may ſee to be incendiaries) I will rather be content, for myſelf, this night, to be laid in the Gate-houſe, and let them do with me to-morrow what they pleaſed. I will ſay no more, but that it is a *ſhame* that any, let be ſo many of us, ſhould yet be pleading for them; and whereas I was never for their blood, but only for their confeſſion (to ſave the King and kingdom's honour) if we get theſe recriminations, I think they deſerve ſuſtice *rather than* mercy. The King mentions on-

ly Traquair's name, that if we do inſiſt againſt him, he will make his reſervation, but if we paſs from him, he will *reſerve* none. Ye may ſee it can be no great treaſon in regard of ſik [ſuch] a compenſation. If any of us be accuſed here, ye ſhall think what to do with ſome there, ſeeing we hear it comes from Montroſe; and, as I ſuſpect, it is upon the ſpeeches that paſt in the meeting of the Eſtates the firſt of June, in the diſpute, whether to prorogue the Parliament, or to ſit ſtill, notwithſtanding the King and his Commiſſioner's abſence *.

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* This letter was probably written 20th April, 1641.

# WARISTON

TO

# ADAM HEPBURN OF HUMBIE.

LOVING BROTHER,

SINCE my writing my laſt with this ſame bearer, and cloſing it yeſternight, I had occaſion, this morning, to ſpeak with M, and after, by his advice, with the King, to whom I told my mind freely of the dangers and inconveniences he might draw himſelf, by diſcuſſing his actions, and forcing men, for their defence, to look over old practiques, not ſo expedient for him; *exoneravi animam meam* to him, and that for others, becauſe as for myſelf, I told him, that I defied all the world that could lay to my charge any treaſonable intention againſt his perſon and crown, and renewed my offer to go in chains, with any accuſer, to Scotland. His mind ſeems to be on ſome projects here ſhortly to break out; he is certainly put upon this to ſtick on the act of oblivion, both for to ſave Traquair, if he grant it, or to enſnare any Engliſh whom he apprehends to have had any intelligence with us, if he grant it not *. Afternoon we met all with him; he read to us a fair anſwer anent

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* This is a very remarkable circumſtance; it cannot be fully explained, unleſs one were certain what perſons of the Engliſh nation correſponded with the Scots, and incited and

the Council and Seſſion, and for the reſt told, that he had given as fair anſwers already as he could, and fairer nor otherwiſe he would, but *pacis causâ*. He told, that he himſelf would get as much of our money, and ſecurity for the reſt, if the Parliament did not preſently end our buſineſs; that he had thought on ways how to get it, that they profeſſed their buſineſs depended on them, (and from words of this kind to make us jealous of them.) He told, that if the Parliament of Scotland would prorogue themſelves to ſome diet again, which he is confident they will do, he will aſſuredly go home himſelf and ſettle the buſineſs; he has ſaid this, and ſworn it too unto us, except ſome impediment occur, that he knows not of as yet; that he hopes to get his buſineſs ended here. Then he fell on the act of oblivion. We read the information, which I ſent to you within a letter to Mr. Alexander Colvill. He raged at it, and called us Jeſuitical. Then he cried and ſwore, that if they excepted any, he would except ſome alſo; and this he declared over and over again, and profeſſed his hope that the Parliament would be of the ſame judgment. We anſwered, in reaſon, from our inability to paſs from what the Parliament had appointed, and from his granting the ſame already in the treaty. I muſt tell you my mind of all

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encouraged their meaſures. He who can explain and illuſtrate this particular, from original papers, will greatly ſerve the cauſe of truth.

this buſineſs; for ought I can learn from any hand, both this plot of reſerving ſome of us, and this plot of cauſing the King declare his intention to go home to Scotland, is only to terrify us to paſs from Traquair, and is ſuſpected (I will ſay no more, nor accuſe any man) to come from ſome of our own number, with Traquair's advice; and albeit it were a reality, that not only proceſſes ſhould be reſerved againſt *us*, but alſo we were laid faſt, I cannot but muſt write it again to you, for the exoneration of my own conſcience; therefore no ſuch thing ever ye harbour ſo baſe a thought as to be thus threatened and dung [forced] from the Parliament's purſuit of incendiaries, which, *in jure*, (for thoſe that are named by the Parliament, and eſpecially Traquair, proteſted againſt that in the laſt prorogation) neither we, nor ye there, can do, or has power in law to do. Some amongſt us would terrify us with this project of the King's own preſence, as able in Scotland to reverſe all that is done, except the acts of the Aſſembly, and to gain ſuch a party in Scotland, as to put honeſt men in hazard. God forgive them puts ſuch hopes in the King's head, albeit in reality I do not, nor others more underſtanding doth believe, that the King has any intention (for all that is ſaid) to go in perſon to Scotland. Let us again be enjoined to do our duty, and ſhew your firm reſolution, the rather to follow forth the incendiaries for theſe very motions by the King, and ſtops to the treaty, as to preſerve that buſineſs ſafe to the Parliament, and let them do then what they pleaſe, after we have

done our part; and I will profeſs plainly, that before ever I condeſcend to the paſſing by of theſe incendiaries now, till the Parliament determine, I ſhall rather conſent to the King's reſerving a thouſand of our number. Haſte up your anſwer to us, and ſhow this and my former letter to General, [Leſlie] Caſſillis, Lindſay, and Sir John Meldrum. Be ſure this letter meet me not again, only tell them the news, or read it to them. I am ſure I am in as great hazard, and as much feared and hated both, by Traquair, as any of our number, here or there; but, I thank God, I know not what it is to be feared in this buſineſs, while I do my duty. Look to your army, and be on your guard; if they could get an opportunity to rub an irreparable affront on you, paper bonds would be ſoon broken; if they find you circumſpect, it is thought their deſigns———will be hitherwards. There is ſome motion, as I hear, of the King's deſire to adjourn the houſes for ten days, on pretext of the feſtival days; but, as I hear, the lower houſe will not adjourn. To-morrow they give up their bill of treaſon to the Lords. There is ſome of our articles anent the peace debated in the upper houſe, and likely to be agreed. My Lord Dunfermling has been twice thrice with the King; Mr. Alr. was a long time with him. God forgive them that invents ſuch projects or tricks (for I think they ſhall be found empty boaſts) to bring off ſo evil an inſtrument, for his reputation, to the diſhonour of the kingdom; I will not ſay that any of them, or any other of Traquair's ſervants, have projected this to the

King; I dare not ſay it, becauſe I know it not; but I am ſure ſundry have ſaid it, and ſome others ſuſpect it; howſoever, God willing, ſome of us (albeit we ſhould be left alone, and be never ſo calumniated) ſhall return home with this teſtimony of our own mind, that we have adhered to our inſtructions from them that ſent us, and I believe every one will ſay as much for himſelf. God guide the buſineſs right, keep you ſtout in your directions to us, and circumſpective to your inteſtine hypocrites and foreign enemy. After reading this, for my exoneration to Balmerino, ſend it to him, within your own, that he may thereby waken his lawyers to be the more diligent and intent. In haſte.

Your loving brother.

21ſt April, at night

# WARISTON

## TO

# LORD BALMERINO.

——— THE King continues in his profeſſed humour of reſerving ſo many of us from the act of oblivion, if we inſiſt on the reſervation of incendiaries. If this be brave work, that any of our number ſhould be on theſe tricks, to boaſt us from the Parliament's purſuit, by apprehenſion of our own danger, it were now an acknowledgment of our own guiltineſs, and diſhonouring of the cauſe, ever to paſs from them on theſe threats; let never ſo baſe a thought enter in the head of any of the committees, albeit ye heard it was a reality, as it is but a boaſt put in the King's head by Traquair, who threatned often to recriminate with challenges of treaſon, if we inſiſted againſt him. I would rather, for myſelf, who will be firſt in Traquair's roll no doubt, be laid faſt in the Gatehouſe, and carried to the hill, before ever I wronged the Parliament, the cauſe, and my own innocence ſo far, as to force the King's reſervation of me out of the act to be proceſſed, to yield to the ſcraping out his name; if the Parliament, after conſideration, ended his buſineſs one way or other, God is my witneſs I have no malice, nor particular end, but only that the honour of the kingdom be preferred to his point of honour. Command us to be ſtout; be diligent with your cauſe; pre-

pare your armies. Let not this other trick *terrify you*, of their cauſing the King profeſs he would come to Scotland himſelf for to ſettle buſineſs, which is a trick of theirs alſo to terrify us for fear of factions at home to grow by his preſence. The lower houſe has given up their bill, grow in daily ſtrength *, will not riſe; we [they] have Strafford's life, are thinking on monies for us. This in poſt-haſte. Lord encourage and direct them.

Your Lordſhip's humble ſervant.

22d April, [1641.]

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* This is not diſtinctly written in the original.

# WARISTON

TO

# LORD BALMERINO.

MY NOBLE LORD,

——————THE King, yeſterday, having anſwered us anent the Council and Seſſion, and profeſſing he would get us money, if the Parliament did not, told us of his intention to come to Scotland, if the Parliament would prorogue another month for him; and after that urged us to paſs from the article of oblivion, or the reſervation therein againſt incendiaries, or elſe he would (as he ſaid and ſwore) reſerve as many. He raged when we told our inability to paſs from any whom the Parliament had named and cauſed cite, eſpecially Traquair, who was proteſted againſt even as to the prorogations, and remembered him of his former grant of the ſame, in the fourth demand anent incendiaries. My Lord, I perceive, from ſundry hands, that both this threatning of reſervations of us, and this mentioning his intention to keep himſelf the Parliament in Scotland, is a trick of Traquair's, by the advice of ſome of our own, for to terrify us, what with our own danger by that reſervation of perſons, and the danger of the country by factions at home, which would grow by the King's preſence, to paſs now from the incendiaries; and this is but a boaſt; [an empty threatning] and albeit it were a reality (as certainly neither affairs

here will permit, neither has the King any inward intention to go to Scotland) as I writ to Newcaſtle my judgment freely in conſcience, I would rather he reſerved one hundred. I ſend you the copy of our information to ſome Parliament-men, which was read alſo to the King, but whereat ſome of our number appear mightily offended; I hope they will let you ſee reaſon for their ſtanding to it; alſo I————————as much of this letter and information as I may be confident that———————— from the committee at Edinburgh to paſs from incendiaries; and laid my own feet faſt, and more alſo, before ever ſo baſe a thought, and ſo unworthy an act, fell out in the hands of any of the committees, as thus to be boaſted and dung [forced] from the Parliament's purſuit of the incendiaries named by themſelves in their act, which is not a thing within the power of the committee, let be of ours, and for the which ye might all be cenſured. I think that their tricks, ſtopping the treaty, demonſtrate them ſo really to be incendiaries, as ye ſhould rather renew your ſtrict injunctions for ſending them home. If the King intended peace, he would not ſtand on this, and from which it is likelieſt that he intends war; whether we yielded in that *or not*, war would we have. I think *I be one moſt* ſoon to be purſued by Traquair, and ſo is yourſelf one of thoſe whom the King would reſerve on Traquair's information, who profeſſed to ſundry his having challenges of treaſon againſt ſo many of us; my Lord Rothes is certainly one, as Traquair often has vaunted him-

ſelf, Argyle is ſuſpected to be another. Except the fear of your own hazard from Traquair's boaſts move you to ſend us inſtructions to paſs from him, I think neither honour, nor conſcience, nor duty, can move any; and I believe ye love not to be thus boaſted. Fy on us, that any of us ſhould be on their devices, for to ſave the honour of an evil inſtrument, to the prejudice of the honour of the whole kingdom, lying under the blame of treaſon and rebellion, except to be brought to an acknowledgment. Command us to be reſolute in this purſuit, againſt all boaſts and threatnings. Be diligent with your cauſe. I think the Parliament ſhould, by way of injunction, lay a neceſſity on Sir Thomas Nicolſon to plead that cauſe for the commonwealth. I would requeſt you (with the greateſt ſecrecy that can be) to cauſe try if all the honours and regiſters were left in the caſtle, that ever had been in it, or if any of them be wanting; if Traquair and the Clerk-Regiſter have taken them away, this were a fact of clear treaſon in the judgment of all, and I ſuſpect they be guilty of ſome ſuch thing, but it would be kept cloſed, without revealing to any, till the very day of his compearance. I have ſome grounds to ſuſpect this, as I ſhall tell you, if it pleaſe God that we meet. It is thought there is ſome preſent plot to break forth here. The Parliament will not riſe, for ought we can learn, albeit they be commanded. Yeſternight the lower houſe, after final voting formally their bill of attainder, gave it up to the Lords, with this declaration, that they would proteſt againſt them

if they did not give them a ſpeedy and ſatisfactory anſwer. The Londoners bill for juſtice is given in after it. The Londoners offered to guard the Parliament with 5000 men, if they will, on apprehenſion of diſſolution, come in to the Guild-hall within the city. There is ſome report of the Queen's ſhipping down to Portſmouth with her plate, and of the King's ſudden poſting ſome day to his army, to whom there is ſome new oath of abſolution following him ſent down. The lower houſe would not condeſcend that the officers ſhould go down. The Parliament is to fall to our demands, and to get us money. God is going on in ſome hid way for his Son's crown, it will break forth. I thank God that kept my ſpirit fair above all fears, either national or perſonal. The Lord direct you to be preparing for a ſtorm.

Your Lordſhip's real ſervant,

A. J.

22d April, [1641.]

# PART OF A LETTER

FROM

# LORD BALMERINO

TO

# A PERSON UNKNOWN.*

——— AMONG other myſteries of theſe times, one ſeemeth ſtrange, that ſome, having no principles of religion to lead them, ſhould fall fairer in the preſent courſe of church-affairs, than others that have both profeſſed and practiſed, both done and ſuffered; but as *crimen ambitus* is againſt our covenant, ſo I ſee φιλαργυρία παντῶν τῶν κακων ῥίζα, I have retained ſo much of the Liturgy as to ſay, " Good Lord deliver us."

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* I cannot aſcertain to whom this letter was addreſſed, nor at what preciſe period it was written; neither will I preſume, upon ſimple conjecture, to determine againſt whom the charge of a looſe life with great ſeeming zeal, of ambition, and of avarice is here brought. In juſtice to Balmerino, it muſt be acknowledged that he ſeems to ſpeak the language of ſincerity.

# EARL OF ROTHES
## TO
# WARISTON.

WORTHY FRIEND,

My Lord Loudon is to take journey homewards upon Monday, who is to receive ſome particular inſtructions from his Majeſty, and I believe he will deſire you not to do that which may make his dealings ineffectual; and therefore you may keep up your worſt againſt Traquair till you ſpeak with his Lordſhip. We have had hard work with the King, Loudon will acquaint you with the particulars. If there be any miſtakes of the carriage of my Lord Loudon, or me, or any of your friends here, you will inform the truth, according to your knowledge, which is the deſire of

Your affectionate friend,
ROTHES.

London, 25th June,
1641.

Loudon comes not away till Monday——My buſineſs I have entruſted to you to prepare the Earl of Argyle and Balmerino; for if I defer to accept the place*, times are uncertain and diſpoſi-

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* Of Lord of the Bedchamber to the King, as appears from Lord Clarendon's hiſtory.

tions; if Argyle and Balmerino be pleaſed, then you may labour to move Lothian and Lindſay; ſignify how it was the Marquis Hamilton, with Roxburgh, and William Murray their motion to me, from the ſenſe of the good of the kingdom, and that I ſuffered them to *move* in it; it is true it is nothing within the kingdom, and ſo is not liable to the letter written to us not to accept benefices, which can only be meant within the kingdom. Yet I deſire never to be in a condition my comerades ſhall not approve, nor to be in a better condition than they ſhall wiſh me. I hope in his mercy that his honour ſhall be ever before my eyes above all things, and ſhall make his ſervice my chief endeavour. Let me hear from you with the firſt occaſion. Urge your opinion freely to me, and if they have any exceptions at me, let me know it; for, on my honour, I have not deſerved evil at their hands, nor failed in any jot of my duty, to my knowledge; but this is an age of unjuſt cenſuring.

# GENERAL DAVID LESLIE

## TO

## MR. THOMAS HENDERSON.

———BECAUSE you desire me to be plain with you in this, and to communicate my mind, I will be free, that for my own part, I desire not upon any terms to have command in my own country, for many reasons. First, it is not possible to me, nor any man to carry himself so that he shall or can please all men, as is to be seen of those that have gone before me. Secondly, I have great ones to my enemies in that kingdom. Thirdly, his Majesty, with all reverence, would see me hanged. And last of all, I can live abroad, and get preferment with honour. Yet for all this, they who have done so much for me shall command me in that cause I have sworn to, in spite of all greatness, malice, or whatsoever, to undergo any thing for the maintenance of the *cause*, not doubting but God will give a blessing thereto, beyond the expectation of all its enemies; and that I should speak any more concerning myself, in that particular, I will not, but refer myself to God and my friends, knowing nothing can be done but to his pleasure. And I would *advise* the well-affected party be wise in what they do concerning the soldiers, in regard they will be easy to be tempted, and many tempters; I mean, that what shall be kept a-foot, shall be taken out of all the regiments, and that the best,

and at leaſt 2000 horſe; that 500 ſhould be put off a fortnight after, and within a month as many, and ſo forth; the reſt as occaſion ſhall offer. This is the opinion of him who deſires to hear from you, and reſts,

Your loving friend and ſervant,

DAVID LESLIE.

I have written a letter of thanks to Loudon, and another to my Lord Advocate.

Durham, 15th December,

# KING CHARLES I.

## TO

## THE MAGISTRATES OF GLASGOW.

TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED, WE GREET YOU WELL.

SINCE nothing on earth can be more dear to us than the preſervation of the affection of our people, and amongſt them none more than theſe of our native kingdom; which as the long and uninterrupted government of us and our predeceſſors over them, doth give us juſt reaſon in a more near and ſpecial manner to challenge from them; ſo may they juſtly expect a particular kindneſs from us in every thing which may contribute to their happineſs; but knowing what induſtry is uſed, by ſcattering ſeditious pamphlets, and employing private agents and inſtruments, to give bad impreſſions of us and our proceedings, and, under pretence of a danger to religion and government, to corrupt the fidelity and affections, and to engage them in an unjuſt quarrel againſt us their King; we cannot therefore but endeavour to remove theſe jealouſies, and ſecure their fears, from all poſſibility of hazard to either of theſe from us. We have therefore thought fit to require you to call together your fellow-burgeſſes, and all ſuch others as have any dependance upon you, and, in our name, to ſhow them our willingneſs to give all the aſſurances they can deſire, or we poſſibly grant,

(if more can be given than already is) in preſerving inviolably all theſe graces and favours which we have of late granted to that our kingdom; and that we do faithfully promiſe we will never rule to the contrary of any thing there eſtabliſhed, either in the eccleſiaſtical or civil government; but that we will inviolably keep the ſame according to the laws of that our kingdom; and we do wiſh God ſo to bleſs our proceedings and poſterity, as we do really make good and perform this promiſe. We hope this will give ſo full ſatisfaction to all that ſhall hear this our ſolemn proteſtation, that no ſuch perſons as ſtudy diviſion, or go about to weaken the confidence betwixt us and our people, and juſtly deſerve the name and puniſhment of incendiaries, ſhall be *ſcreened* from the hands of juſtice, and all ſuch others as ſhall endeavour peace and unity, and obedience to us and our laws, may expect that protection and increaſe of favours from us which their fidelity deſerves. So, expecting your care hereof, we bid you heartily farewel.

From our Court at Oxford,
April 21ſt, 1643.

# EARL OF LANERICK

## TO

# THE MAGISTRATES OF GLASGOW.

ASSURED FRIENDS,

HIS Majeſty was pleaſed to command me to convoy unto you this incloſed letter from him, wherein he fully expreſſeth his gracious reſolution of preſerving inviolably what he hath eſtabliſhed amongſt us in church and ſtate. I will never ſo much injure your affections to his Majeſty's ſervice, as to believe you, or any in your town, will ever queſtion the truth of theſe his Majeſty's gracious expreſſions toward you, but that you will receive them with ſuch thankfulneſs as you may encourage him to continue and encreaſe his favour toward you, wherein none ſhall think themſelves happier to be an inſtrument than

Your ſervant

and fellow-burgeſs,

LANERICK.

Hamilton, 24th May,
1643.

# PART OF A LETTER

FROM

# A PERSON UNKNOWN

TO

# WARISTON.*

——— Sir John Hotham is expected here every day, being ſent up by ſea; he hath been ever known to be a covetous proud man, and his end is like to be anſwerable. There is good ſtore of money found with him in Hull, they ſay 30,000l. it is evident he was near a fall. After the taking and eſcape of his ſon, he wrote a letter to the Speaker in ſuch a high rhodomontado ſtile, as that it was no leſs than threatning; he began thus, "Lieutenant General Hotham is ſeized upon by "thirty or forty rogues and Anabaptiſts; if by "your order, I require reparation; if by order of "the houſe, I do likewiſe require ſatisfaction from "their juſtice; if by order from the General, I "do ſtill demand reparation even in the higheſt." It was a great and good providence of God that

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* This letter was, in all probability, addreſſed to Wariſton; it mentions various occurrences in the war, the poſition of armies, and the like: but the editor has publiſhed thoſe parts only which tend to ſhew the characters of men, or the ſentiments of parties.

that hath ſecured the place of Hull. ——Surely howſoever the event of this quarrel may ſeem to be doubtful, by reaſon that providence balances the ſucceſs alternatively; yet it is very remarkable that never any plot hatched againſt the Parliament hath eſcaped diſcovery; they have all proved abortive.

I think at laſt the committees will be ſent to you. The late news of Lord Fairfax his loſs † made them advance their pace in the diſpatch of that buſineſs. If they could do the buſineſs by themſelves, they would ſave you a labour, and themſelves much money, and ſome credit. But regard not that; they cannot be blamed for deſiring to have the honour of ſettling their own reformation; but if God will have it ſo, that you muſt participate in the glory of the work, be not backward to his call, nor wanting to yourſelves; it ſeems to me that this muſt be your part; by aſſiſtance and help of ſtrength to carry on this reformation here, and by a powerful mediation to reconcile King and Parliament, whoſe quarrel is but collateral; becauſe the Parliament intends reformation and defence of religion, and Papiſts and other enemies both of religion and reformation prevail in abuſing him, to make him believe that his greatneſs and authority is aimed at. You who formally of late cleared yourſelves from ſuch falſe aſperſions, will be very fit mediators to undeceive his Majeſty, and clear this Parliament.———Sir

† At the action near Tadcaſter.

William Waller is as great a terror to them [the royaliſts] as Scanderbeg was to the Turks.*——— This day alſo Sir Philip Stapleton and Colonel Goodwin came from the Eſſexian army, brought a letter from the General to the houſe, giving account of the paſſages in Buckinghamſhire, how he could not engage the enemy to fight, by reaſon he prevails in horſe, which by their excurſions moleſt the country infinitely; that the houſes, if they think fit, might do well to try his Majeſty again, if he will condeſcend to their former propoſitions, if not, that he would withdraw his perſon, and appoint a day and a place that theſe two armies may decide it. This letter gives no great ſatisfaction, and the rather becauſe this principal army doth little, and Sir William Waller ſo much. Tomorrow the houſes will debate upon the letter: *Unus homo nobis cunctando*, &c. will not ſerve at all times.———There was never a good cauſe more baſely betrayed, than men, and that not a few, have offered to do this; but the more thanks and glory to God, that maintains it ſtill, and will finiſh it happily. I hear even now that Sir James

* This may ſerve to illuſtrate an obſervation made by Lord Clarendon, B. vii. "They who looked upon the Earl "of Eſſex as a man that would not keep them company to "the end of their journey, had their eyes upon Sir William Waller, as a man more for their turn, and were deſirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipſe the "other."

Ramſay is come up; there is much need of him in Eſſex's army, in which there is not an officer of the field, but himſelf and Sir John Merrick, the General of the ordnance. The Earl of Peterborough, Marſhal of the field, is dead, Sir William Balfour ſick; there hath been no General of the horſe ſince Bedford quit it. I had forgotten the Serjeant Major General Skippon, a very honeſt man, but a low country ſoldier.*

Doubtleſs you wonder that the committees ſo long ago deſigned are not ſent, and I cannot ſatisfy you with the true cauſe of ſo long ſtay; ſure, in ſuch a caſe, they [the Scots] muſt know there is no manner of reaſon *ut nolenti fiat beneficium*; but let no delays out of neceſſity, by reaſon of emergent diſturbances, or otherways, abate their zeal to the public weal and peace of both kingdoms, chiefly in what concerns religion. Be ready in your ſtations, that when you ſee God's cauſe requires, you may put to your hand.

We hear his Majeſty hath of late made ſome noblemen, as two of the chief delinquents to the Parliament, Mr. Percy, Baron of Alnwick, and Mr. Wilmot, I know not of what title.

10th July, 1643.

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* The meaning probably is, that Skippon having been bred in a regular army, was inclined to act with caution and ſlowneſs: this did not ſuit with the impatience of zealots.

# PART OF A LETTER

FROM

# MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

# MR. WILLIAM SPANG,

MINISTER OF CAMPVEER IN ZEALAND.

——— OUR preſent poſture here is this; when the cunningneſs of Rothes had brought in Montroſe to our party, his more than ordinary and evil pride made him very hard to be guided; his firſt voyage to Aberdeen made him ſwallow the certain hopes of a Generalate over all our armies; when that honour was put upon Leſlie, he incontinent began to deal with the King, and when we were at Dunslaw had given aſſurance, and was in a fair way of performance, (had not the honeſty and courage of Marſhal prevented it) to have given over the whole north to the enemy. When our voyage to Newcaſtle came in hand, by his damnable bond, he thought to have ſold us to the enemy; thereafter he was ever on correſpondence for our ruin; Allaſter Macdonald * was the ſmalleſt ſtring in his bow, and a deſign which he leaſt truſted in; but God reſolving to humble us, who were beginning

* Sir Alexander Macdonald of Kolquitto, of the Antrim family.

to ſwell with our great ſucceſs in England, and on baſe partialities to be filled with emulations and factious heart-burnings, he would demean us with no more honourable rod; ſome 1500 naked Scots Iriſhes having loppen from iſle to iſle, till at laſt getting away through Badenoch, they broke down on Strathern. The country forces of Fife and Strathern were three to one, well armed on Tippermoor, had horſe and cannon, but the treachery of Kilpont, and eſpecially Sir John Drummond, together with Elcho's raſhneſs, delivered all that tumultuous people, and their arms, in the enemy's hands, without ſtroke: a great many burgeſſes were killed, 25 houſholders in St. Andrews only; many were burſten in the flight, and died without ſtroke. At Aberdeen 400 of the Fife ſoldiers well near routed the whole enemy, but being ill ſeconded by the burgeſſes of Aberdeen, they fled alſo; Marſhal and the gentry of the country, the Forbeſes, and the Frazers, lay by as well content; Gordon, by Argyle's great miſtake, having the commandment, whereof, through his own haughtineſs, and treachery of his followers, he made no uſe at all, a great many Aberdeensmen were killed, and the town ill plundered. You heard what followed that ſtrange courſing, as I remember, thrice round about from Spey to Athole, wherein Argyle and Lothian's ſoldiers were tired out; the country, harraſſed by both, and no leſs by friends than foes, did nothing for their own defence.

Whether through envy and emulation, or ne-

gligence, or inability, Argyle's army was not relieved as it ſhould, himſelf was much grieved, ſo that he laid down his commiſſion, which neither Lothian nor Callendar, for any requeſt, would take up; ſo Baillie was forced to take it, or it muſt have lain. In the mean time, the enemy, after their long ſtorm, ſcorning to fall down on Glaſgow, turned to Argyle, and came thro' it all without oppoſition, burnt Inverary, killed and ſpoiled what they pleaſed; the world believed that Argyle could have been maintained againſt the greateſt army, in a country inacceſſible; but we ſee there is no ſtrength nor refuge on earth againſt the Lord. The Marquis did his beſt to be revenged; with an army ſufficient overtook the rogues in Lochaber, at Inverlochy; we hoped they might eaſily have been defeat; but behold the indignation of the Lord! Argyle, having a hurt in his arm and face, gotten by a caſual fall from his horſe ſome weeks before, whereby he was diſabled to uſe either ſword or piſtol, was compelled by his friends to go aboard his barge; his couſin Auchinbreck took the leading of his army; no appearance but of courage and ſucceſs; yet no ſooner did the enemy ſet on, but all our people, overtaken with a pannic fear, without any neceſſity, turn back and fly; Auchinbreck, a ſtout ſoldier, but a very vicious man, and many ſpecial gentlemen of Argyle's friends were killed. This diſaſter did extremely amaze us. I verily think had Montroſe come preſently from that battle, he ſhould have had no oppoſition in all the Highlands, in the Lennox and ſhe-

riffdom of Air, Glaſgow, Clydeſdale, ſcarce till he had come to Edinburgh. But God, in mercy to us, put other thought in his heart; he went incontinent northward, did what he was pleaſed as far as Murray, got the Gordons, Grants, and many of the clans to join, Seaforth alſo came to his camp; his hopes were, and we had reaſon to fear it, that having the half of Scotland in his power, he, with a great army, would march the high way ſouthward.

Before this time our people did not well awake; our Parliament had trifled much time in needleſs debates; Sir John Smith and divers burgeſſes had debated too much, for their own ends, upon the exciſe; Lindſay, by the burrows, to pleaſe the Treaſurer, was made Preſident in Lauderdale's place, whom the ſtone had removed, to our great loſs and regret; he was not ſo able to diſpatch buſineſs. Emulations and heart-burnings about particulars hindered much our affairs in a moſt dangerous time. The country was exceedingly exhauſt with burthens; and, which was worſe, a careleſs ſtupid lethargy had ſeized on the people, ſo that we were brought exceedingly low. In this lamentable condition we took ourſelves to our old rock; we turned ourſelves to God; the Aſſembly ſent a printed warning to the country, well penned by Mr. Gilleſpie; we wrote a free admonition to the Parliament of their jealouſies and diviſions, which, though it took not away the root, yet did it ſned many of the branches of the evils complained of; Baillie was enabled to move, and written

to by the Aſſembly; Marſhal alſo was put in the beſt poſture might be; the Parliament had adjourned that the war might be better followed; and in this caſe left I Scotland, with a heart full of perplexities.

You know how graciouſly the Lord brought me through the ſeas; the ſtorm which before had been ſo extraordinary, that many there thought we had been caſt away, when we came from you, we were exceeding welcome, but found our affairs in an exceeding ill poſture; the credit of our nation impaired; ſenſible neglects, and real ground of complaint, daily offered us, in many occurrences, private and public, that would have tempted greater patiences and wiſdoms than was national to us; yet we reſolved to go on as we might, waiting when God would blink upon Scotland; for we knew as God helped us there, our affairs here would mend. It was a matter of exceeding joy unto us to hear of the diſaſter that Montroſe got at Dundee, and of the poſture of our country at laſt, according to our minds, after the flight of the enemy, the killing of 4 or 500 of the beſt of the Iriſhes, the diſſipating of moſt of the Scots Highlandmen, the loſs of their ammunition, and moſt of their arms, Baillie, with the one half of the army, is gone to Athole, to keep them from that ſtarting hold; Horrie, with the other half, with Marſhal and the north country, is towards Aberdeen; Lawers and the Murray-men are to keep in another turn; Argyle, with a regiment of his own, and 1500 from Ireland, is to the Highlands.

So, by God's help, in a little time, we hope to get ſuch order of theſe our troubles, that Scotland ſhall be in peace, and ſend back the ſoldiers now it makes uſe of, with ſuch increaſe, that Leſlie, with a better army than he has yet commanded, ſhall make over Trent, and Monro to Conaught and Munſter.

The Engliſh look on us already much more chearfully than of late. We pity their raſh and unadviſed feebleneſs; and yet, thanks to God, we have been conſtant to do all duties to them, in the midſt of all their ingratitude and provocations; we reſolve they will, at laſt, by our actions, ſee their obligations to us.

This new-modelled army conſiſts, for the moſt part, of new unexperienced ſoldiers; few of the officers are thought capable of their places; many of them are ſectaries, or their confident friends; if they do great ſervice many will be deceived. Some have great fears, not only of their deſign to ſtrengthen the party of the ſectaries, ſo that it may not ſafely be diſpleaſed, but alſo of componing with the King, to the prejudice of us and all our friends here. Yet I hope theſe fears are groundleſs. Sundry wiſe men, whom I ſpeak with, believe that the new army is not ſo full of ſectaries as is ſaid, and, however, are aſſured of their honeſty and obedience to the Parliament; alſo, if any diſaſter ſhould befal them, which, with our daily prayers, we heartily deprecate, they hope that our army, well recruited with forces from Scotland, and much ſtrengthened by a multitude

of good officers, which partly have left, partly are out of the Engliſh army, ſhall, by God's help, be enabled to do their buſineſs, and ſettle peace here ere it be long.

London, April 25th,
1645.

# LORD BALMERINO TO WARISTON

MY LORD,

I WILL not vex you with the repetition either of our hopes or fears, which you will hear ſo fully from others, in confidence that he who delivered us from the lion and the bear, will alſo rid us of the uncircumciſed Philiſtines, who are, I hope, obdured to their ruin, though to our humiliation. It hath been no ſmall vexation to this poor kingdom, both in body and mind, and a heavy charge to theſe few left here. It would break a hundred hearts to ſee the general ſecurity of all, both here and elſewhere, and the particular reſpects and ſelfiſhneſs of ſome, which if the Lord do not pity, we may meet with *Athanaſii nubecula* ſooner than we think. I got but warning this afternoon from Mr. George Halyburton to have my letters ready for him before night; I will only therefore remember you of that I told you before your laſt parting hence, for engaging the Hollanders with us in Ireland, whereof you have a fair ground from General Major Monro's letters ſent you from this committee; the town of Galway, and others, being in Inchequin's land, would be excellent invitations, as cautionary towns for them: and if your confident friends be not forward to entertain this motion, their intentions toward our ſatisfac-

tion may be ſuſpected; and without ſome ſuch ſupply as that we may give over; for the borrowing of money is dried, and the exciſe is like to be unfortunate firſt and laſt. *Vigilate et orate, vale ut velit tuus,*

J. BALMERINO.

Edinburgh, 9th September,
[1645.]

# ALLAN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL

TO

# SIR JAMES GRANT OF FREUCHIE.*

RIGHT LOVING COUSIN,

My hearty recommendations being remembered to your honour; I have received your honour's letter concerning this misfortunate accident that never fell out, betwixt our houſes, the like before, in no man's days; but, praiſed be God, I am innocent of the ſame and my friends, both in reſpect that they gi't [went] not within your honour's bounds, but [only] to Murray-land, where all men take their prey; nor knew not that Moynes was a Grant, but thought that he was a Murray-man; and if they knew him, they would not ſtir his land, more than the reſt of your honour's bounds in Strathſpey. — Sir, I have gotten ſuch a loſs of my friends, which I hope your honour ſhall conſider, for I have eight dead already, and I have twelve or thirteen under cure, whilk I know not who ſhall die, or who ſhall live, of the ſame. So, Sir, whoſoever has gotten the greateſt loſs, I am content that the ſame be repaired, to [at] the ſight of friends that loveth us both alike———and there is ſuch a trouble here among us that we can-

* This letter and the following one were communicated by James Grant of Grant, Eſq;

not look to the ſame, for the preſent time, while [until] I wit who ſhall live of my men that is under cure. So not further troubling your honour at this time, for your honour ſhall not be offended at my friends innocence,

SIR,

I reſt yours,

ALLAN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL.

Glenlecharrig, 18th October, 1645.

# ALLAN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL TO THE EARL OF SEAFORTH.

RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD,

I HAVE received your Lordſhip's letter concerning the unhappy accident that is fallen betwixt the Laird of Grant's men and my kinſmen, which came to our loſs both, unknown to me, becauſe I was in Argyle in the mean time: for the Laird of Grant was the only man I love beſt in the north, becauſe I came lately out of his houſe, and it [there] came no ill betwixt us ſinſyne [ſince] till this unhappineſs came lately; therefore I am willingly to refer it to friends that will wiſh our well both ſides, and ſpecially your Lordſhip be the principal friend there. But my poor friends had nothing but the defenders parts, becauſe they were in force to fight or die. Not to trouble your Lordſhip with many words, to farther occaſion, commits your Lordſhip to God's protection.

Your Lordſhip's aſſured friend,
ALLAN CAMERON LOCHIEL.*

Lochairkeag, the 27th October,
1645.

Not forgetting my hearty commendation to your Lordſhip's honourable lady, my aunt.

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* It appears that the Camerons made an incurſion into the borders of the county of Murray, and ſpoiled the lands

# EARL OF LANERICK TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

REVEREND SIR,

THE occaſion of writing with this bearer procures you this trouble, elſe I ſhould have continued ſilent, and, at this time, as formerly, truſted to your credit; but calumnies grow now ſo upon me, that I muſt beg you would not deny me the continuance of your favourable opinion, in deſpite of my traducers, how impudent ſoever they be, until either I clear myſelf, or God ſo bleſs my endeavours, that my actions force them to confeſs themſelves liars. For though none dare nor can juſtify themſelves before God, yet I will profeſs my intentions of affectionate deſires hath ſtill been

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of Grant of Moynes, that the Grants overpowered and worſted them. Theſe two letters contain the apology made by the chief of the Camerons for this depredation. If the letters were not perfectly well authenticated, it would ſeem incredible, that, in the laſt age, a gentleman of family could both avow ſuch robberies, and juſtify the robbers; and this the more eſpecially, becauſe at preſent there are no men more regular and inoffenſive than the inhabitants of that part of Scotland inhabited by the Camerons. It is pleaſing to reflect on that change of manners which induſtry and an impartial and ſteady exertion of the laws have introduced.

to ſerve my country in this cauſe, according to my covenant, without perſonal end of advantage or benefit to myſelf, or prejudice to any who have been juſtly ambitious of being inſtruments in this cauſe. I know good, wiſe, and impartial men will not deny me charity, ſo I will expect it from you of no longer than I make it my endeavour both to be an honeſt man, and

Your obliged friend and ſervant,

LANERICK.

Linlithgow, 26th February,
1646.

# MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

## TO

# THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

I RECEIVED your Lordſhip's of the 26th of February from James Hamilton, which, together with the kind and confident expreſſion therein, I acknowledge as an new obligation. What your Lordſhip deſires is very reaſonable and juſt; you may be aſſured to obtain it eaſily of me, and of all others with whom I have power; for believe it, now of a long time, at leaſt three months, ſo far as I remember, I have not heard from any man to your Lordſhip's prejudice; by the contrary, the other day I heard a larger and more vehement panegyric to your Lordſhip's commendation, and bitterer invective to the diſgrace of ſome others, than I conceive was needful. If I were beſide you, I would uſe my old pedantic and magiſterial freedom, but papers, at ſo far a diſtance, in this poſture of affairs, are unſafe invoices of free and honeſt thoughts. Only this much muſt I ſay, for all the world ſees it, that matters are pitifully miſcarried in Scotland. That our ſhame and ſkaith [damage] was not ſo great this 600 years as this laſt year. We are nothing helped by handing the cauſe of our miſeries from one of you to another; the poor land bleeds and is deſtroyed, I dare not ſay, which ſome charge, as much by the differen-

ces of our friends, as by the hand of the enemy. Yet I am bold to ſay too too much, and more than the beſt of you ſhall ever be able to anſwer, either to God, or to the world, or to poſterity. — It is a ſilly plea that you are all united in the end, ſince your debates about the midds [means] make the end in your hand to be loſt. If I had any power among any of you, I would in all earneſtneſs obteſt, that if any love to God and religion, if any tenderneſs to your poor broken and diſgraced country, if any ſenſe of your own honour and ſafety be yet remaining, you would at laſt do what divers times has been eſſayed, promiſed, and begun by every one of you, but performed by none; I mean that all your quarrels might, for a time at leaſt, be laid aſide, that every one of you would cede and ſubmit to another, and cordially join in the common defence. Albeit I be no prophet, yet I think I foreſee, that whoever of you, in theſe ſad times, are readieſt to ſacrifice all your ſelf-intereſts to the weal of the public, you ſhall obtain, in deſpite of all oppoſers, in the moſt eaſy and honourable way, all your deſires. But if you reſolve every one of you ſo to look to your own deſigns, and go on in your differences, though all ſhould periſh, among many other unhappy events this will be one, that the people who outlive theſe troubles will curſe all your memories, will gladly conſent to that curſe, which ſomewhere in the world is much deſired and far advanced (though my heart did ever abhor it) that, when kings and princes are brought down, the power and following of the

nobles may be aboliſhed, as that which they have ſeen and felt not at all to ſerve for the defence, but clearly for the dividing and ruining of a poor people. Of this enough; I am very hopeful your Lordſhip will be as ready as any one to lay aſide whatever may concern yourſelf and your friends, till your poor dying country may once be recovered, that in the life and health thereof you may find yourſelf and them, otherwiſe, you know well, neither you nor they can be ſafe. I hope, againſt the General Aſſembly, to ſee your Lordſhip, when I ſhall be able to tell you all my mind of affairs, both private and public. In the mean time, I remain

Your Lordſhip's

affectionate friend and ſervant,

R. B.

# MR. ROBERT BAILLIE TO MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

———You will have it from many hands, and I cannot but advertiſe you alſo, that the prevalent party deſires nothing ſo much as the King's refuſing any one of the propoſitions: it is the ſenſe of all I meet with, that if the King ſhould delay to grant the propoſitions, this people will declare againſt him, and reject him for ever from being King. The Prince his going to France does much imbitter them, and furthers that which is the deſign of many, to aboliſh monarchy, and ſettle themſelves in a new kind of popular government. If the King will preſently paſs all the propoſitions, I find the moſt very willing that he ſhould return, and be received with ſo much power and honour, as may, in a little time, bring him to all his juſt and pious deſires. He deceives himſelf exceedingly, if he expect any diviſions here in haſte; all will agree, if he remain obſtinate, to ruin him and his family, and all who adhere to them; while this fear be ſecured by appearance, this people will be one. Divers, from whom leaſt I expected it, are for the putting away the whole royal race. The natural reſpect I have to all great families, and the great love and reverence that I ever carried to the King's perſon, makes me grieve and fear much at this time. When I look upon the diſpoſition of all

men whom I know, I ſee nothing but ruin for poor Scotland, except the God of heaven help you there to ſave that poor Prince from deſtroying of himſelf and his poſterity, againſt whom he has but too often invocated the name of God; though he ſhould ſwear it, no man will believe it that he ſticks upon epiſcopacy for any conſcience. It was certainly reſolved, and expected by all, that the committee ſhould have conſiſted of the prime lords, and eight of the chief commons, but the inſuperable wilfulneſs of two of our friends has ſent down the ſix that are named, in ſatisfaction of their private ſimulations, without any deſign to harden and irritate the King; this I know to be true; all men are, for the time, in ſuſpence, but ready, upon the King's declaration whatever way, to enter into new thoughts and actions. I think you ſhall ſhortly have with you all our three great men, Richmond, Hamilton, Argyle. I doubt not but all three will join to perſuade, to their uttermoſt, the King to do his duty. If this ſucceed, it would be your next care, for the well of Scotland, to make all theſe three more real friends than as yet I ſuſpect they are. The Lord help you. So I reſt.

It has been the King's perpetual fault to grant his people's deſires by bits, and ſo late he ever loſt his thanks. Muſt we yet wait an oracle from France?

April 24th, 1646.

# MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

# MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

THE papers you desired I sent with Daniel upon Saturday; I have no more to add unto that than I wrote, but that the commons voted today, that our army shall be gone, and that when we go 50,000l. shall be given us, and other 50 when the garrisons are delivered; this is an evidence, among many more, of this people's intentions towards us. Every circumstance is written daily from the north to our unfriends. There is much talk here by all sorts of people of the King's obstinacy, that he is the longer the worse, and refuses all reason, the faction rejoices herein; this disposition contributes exceedingly to their wished design; all friends are very sorry for it, except God help you, that you have occasion to let us know there is shortly a great change, we will not know whither to turn us; our perplexity for him and ourselves at the present is very great; if he would do his duty, in spight of all knaves, all would in a moment go right; but if God have hardened him, so far as I can perceive, this people will strive to have him in their power, and make an example of him; I abhor to think of it what they speak of execution*; every hour of this delay gives advan-

* This is a very remarkable passage, and deserves the attention of the reader.

tage to theſe men, who make it their work to ſteal votes to engage the nations, and to make him irreconcilable. It has been his conſtant unhappineſs to give nothing in time; all things have been given at laſt, but he has ever loſt the thanks, and his gifts have been counted conſtrained and extorted. If Aſburnhame be keeped we will not be able to abide this people's clamours. But enough of this. A blind man ſees that if he reſolves to be a mad man any longer, he will be forced to do it within narrower bounds. The Lord be with you in this hardeſt paſſage of this work. I reſt

Your ſervant,

R. B.

May 9th, 1646.

# MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

# MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

SIR,

——— MANY here long to hear the King's reſolution, and more to hear the reſolution of our nation. If God help you to make him quickly do his duty, this people ſeem ready to welcome him; but if he ſhall remain obſtinate, or delay much time, it is very like all his people will join againſt him and all who will take his part. This delay of a declaration from him and us increaſes jealouſies and clamours. The great God help you to ſoften that man's heart, leſt he ruin himſelf, and us with him. Be aſſured he muſt either yield to reaſon, and altogether change his principles, or elſe he will fall in tragic miſeries, and that without the commiſeration of thoſe who hitherto have commiſerated his condition. I hope, with the next, at leaſt ſhortly, to ſend you my thoughts, as you deſired, on King James' declaration. The Lord be with you, and give you council, and a mouth convincing irreſiſtible.

Your ſervant, R. B.

May 16th, 1646.

The city remonſtrance had a ſtop, but it is like to be for its furtherance; if that man go now to ſtickle on biſhops and delinquents, and ſuch fool-

iſh toys, it ſeems he is mad; if he have the leaſt grace or wiſdom, he may, by God's mercy, preſently end the miſeries wherein himſelf and many more are likely alſo to ſink. Let me intreat you for one thing, when you have done your uttermoſt, if it be God's pleaſure to deny the ſucceſs, not to vex yourſelf more than is meet; *ſi immundus vult vadere*, &c. When we hear of your health and courage it will refreſh us. Go matters as they will, if men will not be ſaved, who can help it? And yet you know that I was never among theſe who had greateſt averſion from his perſon, or leaſt ſympathy with his afflictions; if he be reſolved to ſtop our mouths, and bind our hands, that we can neither ſpeak nor do for him, let him go on ſo to make himſelf and us miſerable; there is a better life coming; but woe to theſe villains who have bewitched, poiſoned, and infatuated a good Prince, for his own and ſo many millions ruin; we are in a fair way, and daily advance into it, if his obſtinacy ſpoil not all the play. God's will be done.

# MR. ROBERT BAILLIE TO MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

SIR,

I HOPE you got my laſt with Daniel Carmichael, you have here one from Dr. Burgeſſe. It now comes near the ſhock. I am trembling for your * anſwer to our propoſitions. I am grieved that your reſolutions ſhould depend ſo abſolutely upon France, and that upon a party there who have been ſo evidently fooliſh, wicked, and pernicious; your debates upon epiſcopacy I never took to be conſcientious, but merely politic, and a pretence to gain time. I hear France has or will loſe that ſcruple of conſcience very eaſily. Will ſuch baſe hypocriſy be bleſſed? The French ambaſſador is all compoſed of honeſty, and has no other errand but peace, yet I do no ways like this his almoſt abrupt running to you at ſo unſeaſonable a time. The paſſing of the propoſition for epiſcopacy will not do your turn now. You have that good property to do all out of time. Though you paſs the militia and Ireland, that will not do it neither. We † would beg of you to ſtand upon any one thing; let the French perſuade you to do it, and we ſhall bleſs them; for it is our only fear that you paſs

* That is, King Charles's anſwer.

† That is, the Independents.

all, and ſo quickly return and be our maſters; but ſtick upon any thing we have ſent, we ſhall quickly eſtabliſh ourſelves in a republic, and forſwear Kings for ever; for you have been ſo exceſſively bloody and falſe, that God and man call for your execution, eſpecially now, when the world ſees your remedileſs obſtinacy, and full reſolution to go on in your old falſe and hypocritical way; better once for all be ridd of you, and all who will take your part. This I find to be the heart of many, whoſe ſenſe I expected ſhould have been much otherwiſe. I marvel to ſee the ſimplicity of ſome, who think your condeſcenſion in ſome main things will do your turn; I profeſs theſe men whom you will find flatter you in ſuch counſels, I ſuſpect their deſigns are to ruin the poor Prince for their own ends. Sir, if you have any power, let that man come off very frankly in all things, and he ſhall have all he ought to deſire; will he do it by halves and quarters, he is running to utter deſtruction; who can help it; yet I muſt be one of the mourners for it. Sir, give over your diſputations, they are but vain; it is near the fool's ſaying, "They will make Prince Elector of thee." O the madneſs of blinded men, that no experience will teach them to ſave themſelves and thouſands from evident miſchief. The Lord help and aſſiſt you; do and ſay what becomes, be the event what it will. All men, I ſee, ſeek themſelves above any thing either public or private.

Your ſervant.

July 16th, 1646.

# MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

# MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

YOUR ſickneſs has much grieved my heart. It is a part of my prayers to God to reſtore you to health, and continue your ſervice at this time; we never had ſo much need of you as now. I have ſent you at laſt my pamphlet; it has ſtuck on the preſs theſe ſeven weeks, through the ſottiſhneſs of the printers; our brethren are all content with it; I was altogether averſe from intermeddling with it, till you, at your departure, ſpoke to me about it. But what do I ſpeak of ſuch toys. The King's madneſs has confounded us all; we are in a woful evil taking; we know not what to do, nor what to ſay; we know the weight that lies on your heart; I fear this be the fountain of your diſeaſe. Yet I am ſure if you would take courage, and digeſt what cannot be gotten amended, and, if after the ſhaking of melancholy thoughts, the Lord may be pleaſed to ſtrengthen you at this time, you would much more promote the honour of God, the welfare of Scotland and England, the comfort of many thouſands, than you can do by weakening of your body and mind with ſuch thoughts as are unprofitable.——The great God fill your heart with ſtrength and comfort from his own face. Thus I reſt

Your moſt loving brother and ſervant, R. B.

London, Auguſt 4th, 1646.

# MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

## TO

# MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

COUSIN,

————I WAS at Oxford, the beſt builded and booked univerſity in the world, but the worſt provided of learned and orthodox men I know any. We were lately in ſome good hopes of a happy peace and end of all our troubles, but now we are very near deſperate of that, after all poſſible endeavours by all unanimouſly, Scots, Engliſh, French. So far as yet we know, the King refuſes the propoſitions. We expect on Monday the Chancellor, with Argyle and the commiſſioners; after their report to the houſes we fear ſad votes; it will be our endeavours to keep them from ſudden concluſions; they take a long time to the ſmalleſt affairs, but I fear they be too quick in depoſing the King, and ſetting a day to the Prince; we are at a great nonplus, in very great grief and perplexity; we know not what either to do or ſay; there is before us a thick cloud of confuſion; many of the King's greateſt friends think his obſtinacy judicial, as if, in God's juſtice, he were deſtroying himſelf. I fear he will down with him and all his poſterity, and monarchy alſo, in this iſle. We have very ſmall hopes of doing any more with him, and many thouſands more of his beſt ſubjects. This is the great joy of the prevalent party, the thing they

panted for with all earneſtneſs. Our griefs and fears are great, and, for the time, we are in great ſtupidity and aſtoniſhment. It will be our endea vour to keep the nations together, albeit we ſcarce ſee the poſſibility of it. Mr. Henderſon is dying, moſt of heart-break, at Newcaſtle. Our grandees are like to be ſtate-ſchiſmatics, and the worſt ſide to be the ſtrongeſt. A truly pious and really public man is a rare piece upon earth.——— Grief and anxiety make me cut off. The Lord be with you. ———So I reſt

Your couſin,

R. B

Auguſt 7th, 1646.

# PART OF A LETTER

FROM

# MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

# MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

SIR,

THOUGH I have little purpoſe yet I could not let George go without two or three lines. Your weakneſs is much regreted by many here; to me it is one of our ſad preſages of the evil coming; if it be the Lord's will, it is my hearty prayer oft-times, you might be lent us yet for a time, upon the great appearance of our full compliance with this people. The moſt ſeems to applaud our carriage toward the King, but how long I doubt. It ſeems the moſt here are inclined to declare againſt the King, and that without much regrete. I know no remedy, but a quick meſſage from him to grant all. I wiſh our meeting at Edinburgh might yet ſend to him for that effect; but I fear it to be too late; I fear in all things he continues extremely unhappy. Montreville and his letters were taken by ſea. Bellievre's brother, poſting by land, after a ſore fall, ſent his letters by an expreſs, with the ſpeaker's paſs; yet the man was ſtopped, and his letters taken from him. The Parliament's agents write ſtill from Paris that the Duke of Lorrain ſhall winter in England, that Ba-

varia is upon the league, upon the expreſs condition that the King ſhall no more meddle with the Palatine cauſe, that 100,000 crowns are ſent into Scotland, and from France, by the way of Holland. The belief of theſe things, how falſe ſoever, is equivalent to the truth. Ormond's pacification with the Iriſh is very unreaſonable. The placing of Hobbes (a profeſſed Atheiſt, as they ſpeak) about the Prince, as his teacher, is ill taken. —— If you ſee not to it, I fear great diviſions among our own States, but our great God can help all theſe things; his Spirit ſtrengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end. So I reſt in my hearty love and reverence toward you.

London, Auguſt 13th,
1646.

# MR. ROBERT BAILLIE TO MR. ROBERT BLAIR.

REVERENDAND DEAR BROTHER,

——— You muſt not weary of your charge, as not to go about it chearfully, and to do in it all the good you can in your ſhort time. It is well that Mr. Andrew Ramſay's treatiſe has done what Mr. Henderſon and all the reſt of you could not do. But it is a pity that baſe hypocriſy, when it is pellucid, ſhould ſtill be entertained. No oaths did ever perſuade me that epiſcopacy was adhered to on any conſcience. I eſteemed all your debates on that ſubject to be but ridiculous pretexts to gain time, till your laſt reſolutions came from your maſters beyond ſea; and now, when it is come, are you ſo wiſe as to dream that the abolition of epiſcopacy will do any ſervice? Will that plumb pleaſe Scotland ſo well as to make them join with the malignants againſt England? Will your new officers of ſtate, new lords and knights, draw that nation at your heels? Have you been ſo long in the mortar, and beaten ſo much with the peſtle, and yet folly is not yet driven from you? All your friends here lament at your palpable excecation; but all abhor theſe madmen who will deſtroy a more than half-deſtroyed Prince, by betraying him with their flatteries. With much diligence and

art, and great perplexity, we ſtrive every day to keep the houſe of commons from falling on the King's anſwer; we know not what hour they will cloſe their doors, and declare the King fallen from his throne; which, if they ſhould once do, we put no doubt but all England would concur; and if any ſhould mutter againſt it, they would quickly be ſuppreſſed. Do not expect that ever any more meſſages will come to you from this, if within a very few days you ſend not hither a ſimple and abſolute grant of all the propoſitions, without any *if* or *and*, you will quickly obtain your deſire, a Martyrdom; a perpetual cloſe priſon will, at leaſt, be your portion, and that without the pity of many. If yet you would do what within a few days you will beg on your knees to be permitted to do, but in vain, you might ſave all. Why is no courſe taken to declare them infamous for ever that do enſnare the King, by taking any honour, place, or promiſe, from him, in his preſent condition? Shall ſuch unhappy traitors be enabled, by any truſt in their country, to do miſchief? Be obſtinate but a little more, and all here will, without any more vexing of themſelves, let you play the fool while you live. All that favour the King in England are not worth a button, if he make any more ſcruple in any of your demands. Theſe falſe traiterous whiſperers that would make the blinded Prince believe that the ſectaries are not his extremely malicious enemies, burning for the day to caſt him and all his poſterity out of

England, they are impudent liars. I ſometimes weep in ſecret for the inexpreſſible evils which that man moſt needleſly is haſtening on himſelf and his whole houſe, and many thouſands of his poor ſubjects. But, if ſo it muſt be, the Lord's will be done. I reſt.

Auguſt 18th, 1646.

# MR. ROBERT BAILLIE TO MR. WILLIAM MURRAY OF THE BED-CHAMBER.*

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

IT was your pleaſure to give me two kind viſits in my chamber; what then I purpoſed to have ſaid to you, but was interrupted therein by theſe who came in upon us, I have taken the boldneſs to write it to you in this memorandum, as my obſervation, from my converſe with divers citizens and divines of the beſt note among the Engliſh. I doubt not but you have, from many hands, much more than all this; yet I thought meet you ſhould have this much from me alſo, in teſtimony of my freedom with you, and of my love and compaſſion towards a periſhing Prince, and three kingdoms ready to fall in extreme miſeries. Nothing doubting of your favourable acceptance, I reſt

Your loving friend and agent,

R. B.

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* Soon after created Earl of Dyſert.

## TO MR. WILLIAM MURRAY.

### MEMORANDUM FROM YOUR AGENT.

First. THAT what was promiſed to me, in your name, be really performed. I neither have, nor ever mind [intend] to have any uſe of your ſervice for myſelf, yet I ſhould be glad to have that promiſe performed. God will never be mocked; you ſhall never be a happy inſtrument for any good to yourſelf, or the public, if, after ſo fair warnings, and great ſparing, you will again run in rebellion againſt God's clear commands, and into treaſon againſt your own ſoul; doubtleſs a worſe evil, if any worſe upon earth may be than what lately was very near you, cannot but overtake and fall upon you, if you return to your old ways. My care and diligence for you, in your hardeſt times, will excuſe this liberty.

Secondly. You would be thankful to your maſter for all his favours to you; flatter him not in his ruin. All with whom I converſe, how willing ſoever to forget bygones if he will take the propoſitions, yet, I aſſure you, ſo far as I can obſerve, are alſo willing, without any regrete, to have him deſtroyed if he will go on in his obſtinacy. His partial and qualified grants are taken for tricks to make new diviſions and parties for the compaſſing of his former deſigns, and theſe things will no longer be born.

Thirdly. It is exceeding provoking that his re-

ſolutions ſhould, at ſuch a time, depend upon France. Shall nothing within himſelf, or nothing within this iſle, be able to adviſe him? His kingdom will not be governed by packets from over ſea; ſuch open indignities are at no time ſufferable.

Fourthly. If he do not deſire to ruin the innocent Prince with himſelf, bring him quickly out of France; or, if this now be not in his power, let Hobbes, and ſuch wicked men, be put from about him, and the beſt men there be put into his ſervice.

Fifthly. If he will yet join with Ireland, and endeavour diviſions in Scotland and here, to embroil all in a new war, rather than take the propoſitions, then let him know the remainder of love and pity, which in the heart of many yet remains towards him, is ready to be extinguiſhed, and all I know will be moſt willing to have him, and all who adhere to him, brought to their ruin, without any more compaſſion.

Sixthly. If you have any love and pity towards poor Scotland, endeavour to divert its engagement in a new war; before ſuch a deſign can be ſet on foot, the beſt of the land, who cannot but oppoſe it, muſt be cruſhed, and this oppreſſion will cry to heaven for more vengeance; and when all the power of that broken and deſolate land is brought out, what will it do but deſtroy itſelf, and become the infamous inſtrument of loſing to the King and his poſterity for ever that which, without their unhappy intermeddling, he might have been perſuad-

ed to have accepted, without further trouble or hazard to himſelf or others? None but fools will dream of a party, to any purpoſe, in this land; all with whom I ſpeak, put it out of queſtion, that, if a new war ſhould ariſe, the greateſt malecontents here ſhall either be quickly ſatisfied, or elſe be ordered as not to make any oppoſition to that party which is inclined, and on ſuch an occaſion ſhall be greatly furthered, to exterminate royalty.

Seventhly. I have many good witneſſes of my reſpects to monarchy, and to King Charles's perſon, above many, if not all my fellows; this conſcience makes me the more earneſt to have ſuch truths repreſented to him without diſguiſe, and oft ingeminated in his ears with freedom, as may prevent, if poſſible, the evident and imminent ruin of his perſon and poſterity. Curſed be all thoſe villains who now will be ſo mad as to betray, by their wicked compliances, an ill-adviſed and bewitched Prince.

# MR. ROBERT BAILLIE

TO

# MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

———THE falſe reports which went abroad of Mr. Henderſon * I ſee are alſo come to your hand; believe me, for I have it under his own hand, a little before his death, that he was utterly diſpleaſed with the King's ways, and ever the longer the more; and whoever ſay otherwiſe, I know they ſpeak falſe; that man died as he lived, in great modeſty, piety, and faith.———

Oct. 2d, 1646.

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* Theſe reports are well known from the poſitive aſſertion of Lord Clarendon, B. x. "The old man himſelf "was ſo far convinced and converted, that he had a very "deep ſenſe of the miſchief he had himſelf been the au-"thor of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to "his neareſt friends and confidents, and died of grief and "heart-broken, within a very ſhort time after he departed "from his Majeſty." Lord Clarendon was at that time in foreign parts, and it is probable was very ill informed as to the ſentiments of the Scottiſh Covenanters, whom he both hated and deſpiſed. It is curious to ſee how many different cauſes have been aſſigned for the death of Mr. Henderſon. Doctor Barwick ſays. *Vita Joh. Barwick.* "Henderſonus "autem ipſe brevi poſt diem obiit, ex dedecore, quod a re "male geſtâ in hoc conflictu apud Scotos ſuos in ſe con-

## PATRICK MAULE, EARL OF PANMURE, TO WARISTON

MY LORD,

I HAVE received yours of the 29th of December. The informations which have been made againſt you, in your violence againſt his Majeſty, have taken ſuch impreſſion, that no man can be heard to ſpeak to the contrary, for the ground that you go upon is ſo far contrary to his reſolution, let the end thereof be never ſo much for his good; they that preſs him to condeſcend to the Covenant, he thinks that they ſeek his ruin. What reports have been made of your ſpeeches, both public and private, your Lady can inform you; and of the reports of them, who I think will be there before this comes to your hands. Your Lady would not go to kiſs his Majeſty's hands; ſhe had her own reaſons for it, which I could not but ſubmit to, ſince it was her pleaſure. There was no ſtir here at Newcaſtle; only there hath been a little grumbling, by ſome, at the orders that came to the Ge-

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" traxerat, ut ferebatur, plane confectus." Thus, according to Lord Clarendon, he died of remorſe, according to Dr. Barwick, of ſhame, according to Mr. Baillie, of vexation. It is more than probable that all theſe accounts are equally groundleſs.

neral and Governor, for taking care that all that had carried arms againſt the Parliament ſhould leave the town and the quarters; how it hath been obeyed, I am confident you will hear it from others. It is ſaid by ſundry that Hudſon * was in this town, and ſpoke with Montreville, but what he carried with him is not known; only we have heard, for certain, that he is taken, but not what papers are found with him, nor what he hath confeſſed. We hear nothing of any reſolution his Majeſty hath taken to go with the Ambaſſador †, but it is likely he will take any courſe before he condeſcend to the Covenant. It is much to be feared that there will be ſome difficulty found in getting orders obeyed by the ſoldiers for retiring of the army, until they ſee his Majeſty ſettled with honour and ſafety; for I fear the committee you have ſent from the Parliament to his Majeſty, and to ſee the treaties punctually performed, ſhall neither be very gracious to his Majeſty, nor powerful enough to get the treaties punctually performed; for we are likelier to be in a confuſion than ever we were. I have and ſhall make the beſt uſe of your letters, for your advantage, I can, but all is heard with a prejudice. It ſeems the treaty anent [concerning] his Majeſty's coming to our army

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* Probable Jeffrey Hudſon the dwarf, of whom Mr. Walpole has given ſo entertaining an account in his *Anecdotes of Painting*.

† The French ambaſſador, juſt now mentioned.

will not be ſuffered to reſt; and it is not paſt the hopes of ſome, but that it may be ground for to begin a diviſion betwixt the two kingdoms; at the Chancellor's coming here ſomething will appear thereof. So I remain

Your affectionate friend,

and humble ſervant,

P. MAULE.

2d January, 1647.

# PATRICK MAULE, EARL OF PANMURE, TO WARISTON.

MY LORD,

I AM glad that there is any thing ſettled for the Marquis of Argyle's ſubſiſtance, for his ſufferings have been both long and great. I can add little to my former letter concerning yourſelf; I muſt confeſs there have been many aſperſions laid upon you, and I dare ſay, moſt of them calumnies; but buſineſs going there contrary to his Majeſty's mind, makes him the more willing to believe the reports, and the leſs willing to hear the contrary; yet friends muſt ſtill, upon occaſions, uſe their beſt to inform him right; and though it work not the effect that is deſired for the preſent, yet it may be, if it pleaſe God to change his mind, he may remember that honeſt men ſpoke truth to him. He is yet reſolved to ſuffer the worſt, before he condeſcend to what is deſired*; and I fear, if the Parliament of England ſtand to the votes of the houſe, and not be content that your commiſſioners ſhall join with them, anent [touching] the reſolutions concerning his Majeſty, that the kingdom of Scotland will be put to more difficulty therein than they yet think of; for either will they be for-

* As to the covenant. See the laſt letter.

ced to take him into Scotland, or elſe to leave him without conditions, which is thought that the ſoldiers will never do. I pray God to ſend ſome way to bring us off theſe extremities. So ſoon as the Chancellor comes, I am confident he will know what may be expected herein. I fear that his welcome here ſhall not be ſo much as he hath deſerved. [The reſt of the letter relates to private buſineſs.]

4th January, 1647.

## PATRICK MAULE, EARL OF PANMURE, TO WARISTON.

MY LORD,

YOURS of the 16th came to my hand the 19th; but the day before his Majeſty had a full information of all that paſſed in Parliament, with which he was very ill pleaſed.———I find by his Majeſty, that though what is done was paſt both in Committee and Parliament, yet he attributes the carriage thereof to particular perſons, who have endeavoured to their uttermoſt his ruin, and he cannot but acknowledge their intentions to his good that voted to the contrary, though they did not carry it; in this particular you have your own part of the blame, which is unneceſſary for me to write more of it. But I aſſure you he doth not think that you have diſcharged that duty and reſpect to him, that he both deſerved and expected from you; and though the Lord Chancellor was not at the paſſing of theſe things, yet he will ſuffer in reſpect of the actions of his friends. His Majeſty is reſolved for the worſt, and will ſuffer any thing before he condeſcend to the Covenant; and it is thought that the Parliament of England will not be ſo rigid in that point as the Parliament of Scotland is. If his Majeſty be once from us it will be found that we will have but an ill game to play; and I pray God we have not cauſe to repent our

proceedings when it is too late; for certainly his Majeſty's affection will be alienated from the nation, and it will be found that we will have little ———* from the kingdom of England. His Majeſty thinks himſelf little obliged to our nation, but more diſobliged to ſome particulars than to the general, and I am confident he will ſtudy to reſent it; yet I ſhall never leave endeavouring to give him the beſt impreſſions, both of you and your friends, that I can think upon, at all occaſions; if it do no good, I am ſure it will do no ill. I have written ſo oft and ſo fairly, both to my Lord of Argyle and you, of this and all other things, that I can add nothing thereto. [*There follows much about private buſineſs.*] His Majeſty is ſo well reſolved now for his going to Holmby as ever I ſaw him for any thing. He thinks that the Scots have ſold him at too cheap a rate. If our poſterity find not the ſmart thereof, it is well. But he ſays that we have abſolutely quitted our intereſt in him. There is ſo much to this ſenſe ſpoken, both by himſelf and others about him, both of late and old ſtanding, that it would appear that they are not good countrymen———

23d January, 1647.

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* A word illegible, probably *help* or *pity*.

FINIS.

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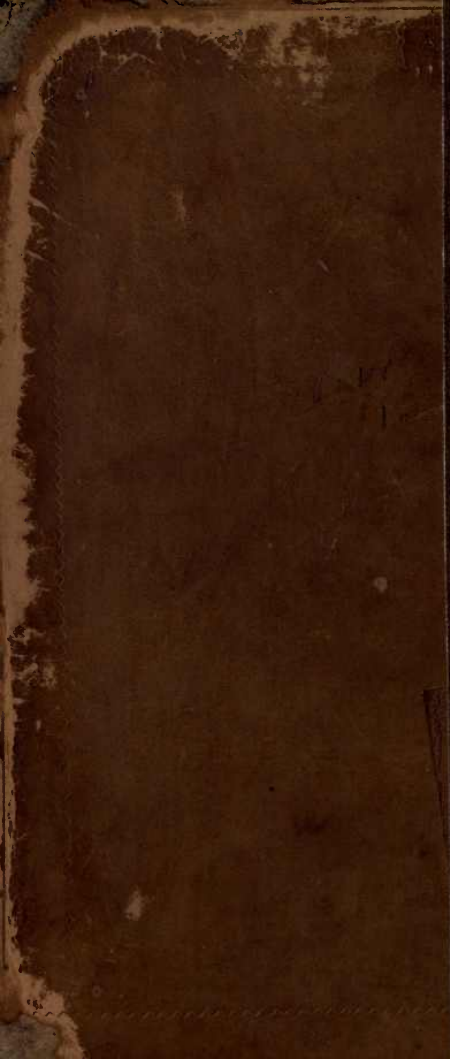
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